

# Die Flüchtlingswelle und die Schnecken-Regierung: How Nature Metaphors Have Shaped Conservative German Immigration Discourse on Social Media since 2015

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## **Abstract**

In 2015, when Chancellor Angela Merkel declared the German borders open to refugees from the Middle East and Africa, politicians and laypeople alike began to widely discuss immigration. Using discourse analysis, this thesis examines the rhetoric used by three conservative German political parties on Twitter. The *Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands* (CDU), *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD), and *Patriotische Europäer gegen des Islamisierung des Abendlands* (PEGIDA), represent three different, yet overlapping, political environments, from center-right mainstream politics to extremist grassroots movement. The immigration rhetoric of these three groups is analyzed through their official immigration platforms as well as their Tweets following the 2015 opening of borders and subsequent New Year's Eve sexual assaults. I focus on metaphors as the primary rhetorical device due to their importance in Germany's political history, especially the National Socialist time period, and their ability to influence perceptions of reality. Each party utilizes metaphors in different ways, though some metaphorical themes, such as those associated with nature, permeate through each discourse environment. We know from Germany's past and research on National Socialist language that dehumanization propaganda can lead to violence. This paper hopes to shed light on metaphors used to dehumanize refugees and bring about awareness of the negative effects to which this discourse can lead.

Keywords: Germany, discourse analysis, metaphors, immigration, politics, social media

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## **Introduction**

Many grow up hearing the quote “the pen is mightier than the sword,” a phrase meant to invoke the power of words. As a vital part of human communication, words can be used to defend, damage, or influence. They transport information as well as emotions through a variety of spoken or written forms. However, the meaning of words is not always clear – and even when it is, we do not always perceive the meaning fully. When discussing an issue as controversial as immigration, where we deal with the mixture of cultures and competition for resources, words can be employed in many different ways, whether to convey truth or to hide it. In Germany, immigration has been debated for years, but that debate came to a peak in 2015 with the new age of twenty-first century globalization, allowing the immigration debate to take to the web. Immigration discourses span a variety of political ideologies, and 2015’s German discourses left room for the development of new right-wing voices. However, with Germany’s propaganda-filled history, uses of language in controversial topics must be explored in greater detail.

For this research, the focus is on three parties in the right-wing spectrum of German politics, from center-right to extremist: the CDU, the AfD, and PEGIDA. Looking at metaphor as the primary rhetorical device in these discourses, we frame the discussions by analyzing how official party platforms discuss migrations and which metaphors they use there. Then we expand the discussion to see how people have responded to major immigration-related events in Germany – the opening of the national borders to immigrants in 2015 and the sexual assaults in Cologne the following New Year’s Eve – on Twitter and analyze the environment created by party Tweets and public responses. We hope to isolate the dominant metaphors, whether through frequency or potency of use.

I acknowledge my own bias in this research, as I do not agree with the ideologies of the parties discussed in this research. However, I hope to still provide a fair analysis focusing on language use, not policy adequacy.

In the following sections, I will dive into the relevance of metaphors, the history of German political rhetoric, and the methodology of discourse analysis in order to provide a more complete framework for the individual party chapters. These following chapters will use this framework as a starting point to analyze the metaphors in modern-day political rhetoric.

### **Metaphors in Ideology**

Metaphors are everywhere, according to George Lakoff and Mark Johnson's book Metaphors We Live By. "The essence of metaphor," Lakoff and Johnson claim, "is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another."<sup>1</sup> This is so natural a process, we often do not even notice when we do it. Human thought processes are largely metaphorical.<sup>2</sup> Consider the ubiquity of phrases like "time is money," "feeling blue," and "cracked under pressure." We use metaphors to create social realities to understand the world, and these can sometimes become self-fulfilling prophecies, or guides to action. Rather than a metaphor being true or false, it often comes down to what inferences one can make from it. Lakoff and Johnson explain that there is no objective truth. Because we see the world in metaphors, and metaphors can be interpreted, constructed, or weaponized in various ways, the idea of truth is "socially and politically dangerous." Charlotte Linde, a sociolinguist, once said "Whether in national politics or in everyday

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<sup>1</sup> Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson. *Metaphors We Live By*, University of Chicago Press, 1980. Pg. 5

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

interaction, people in power get to impose their metaphors.”<sup>3</sup> From the rhetoric of history’s fascists to today’s politicians, the metaphors, whether positive or negative, used by those in power have special influence in the construction of our social realities.

In his book Mothertongue and Fatherland, Michael Townson claims that metaphors were more effective and pervasive than individual lexical items in the discourse of the Third Reich.<sup>4</sup> He cites metaphors of sport and war, religious imagery, and people-as-objects that show the “struggle” of the German people, Adolf Hitler as “savior”, and the negation of humanity<sup>5</sup>. Such metaphors, in short, helped create the ideology that the National Socialists perpetuated. The Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) treats ideologies as belief systems that “serve as an important means of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations through discourse: for example, by establishing hegemonic identity narratives, or by controlling the access to specific discourses or public spheres (‘gate-keeping’).”<sup>6</sup> Ideology is intertwined in nearly all political (and even some non-political) discourse.

Consequently, a cycle results: metaphors can build ideologies, ideologies control power, and those in power choose their metaphors. By analyzing metaphors, we can begin to understand how power may play a role in the selected discourse environments of this study.

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<sup>3</sup> Quoted in conversation in Lakoff, George and Mark Johnson. *Metaphors We Live By*. Pg. 157

<sup>4</sup>Townson, Michael. *Mother-tongue and Fatherland: Language and Politics in German*, Manchester University Press, 1992. Pg. 128

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. Pg. 129-130. Throughout his book, Townson refers to Hitler as “Schicklgruber,” his real last name, in order to minimize the lasting effects of German fascist discourse, where the name “Hitler” is considered part of that discourse. I have chosen to keep the more commonly known name for comprehension. Townson uses this section on metaphors to note that objectifying human beings is not special to this discourse and can be found in a variety of cultures, including the usage of “collateral damage” for killing of non-combatants in warfare terminology.

<sup>6</sup> Reisigl, Martin and Ruth Wodak. “The Discourse Historical Approach (DHA)” *The Routledge Handbook of Critical Discourse Studies*, Routledge, 2017.

## Historical Background

### *Language and National Socialism*

“The brutalization through language was a necessary prerequisite for the physical brutality which was to follow.”<sup>7</sup> When speaking of the impact of the National Socialist regime in Germany, the first thing that may come to mind is genocide. However, genocide does not appear out of thin air. Prior to and during their war and ethnic cleansing operations, the National Socialists controlled an elaborate propaganda scheme, led by the Reich Minister of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, to indoctrinate the German people – whether soldiers on the front or women and children at home – and monopolize the public discourse.<sup>8</sup> The propaganda included not only images meant to uplift the image of the “Aryan German” – promoting brotherhood, servitude of the “Fatherland”, and contributions to the “greater good” – but also served as a way to identify and discriminate against the regime’s enemies: Jews, Roma, other ethnic minorities, communists, homosexuals, people with disabilities, and more.<sup>9</sup> W.J. Dodd highlights the ways this discourse thrived on metaphors and stereotypes, shaped and confirmed identity by creating in and out groups, functioned as affective as well as intellectual rallying points and recruiting strategies, and was fluid and constantly evolving.<sup>10</sup> The *Schlagwort* (hit word, slogan, buzzword), an overarching term for ways language is used to grab attention, is given as one example, along with the subsets of *Fahnenwort* (banner word) as a rallying point and the *Schmähwort* (smear word) used to hurl insults. In National Socialist discourse, the word or pre-fix *Volk* (people, folk) was often used as a kind of *Fahnenwort* to create an in-group rallying point with a “biological view of nationhood” for the Aryan Germans.

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<sup>7</sup> Townson, *Mothertongue and Fatherland*.

<sup>8</sup> Dodd, W.J. *National Socialism and German Discourse: Unquiet Voices*, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018.  
<https://library.ohio-state.edu/record=b8470229~S7>

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid.



However, this same word evolved, and was used in postwar East German discourse to emphasize a class-based vision of society, showing how words could be employed differently and adapt depending on context.<sup>11</sup> Evolving meaning and double-meanings, like those found in metaphors and euphemisms, saturated the state-sponsored messaging of the National Socialist regime and fed into the discourse of everyday Germans.

Viktor Klemperer, a well-known German-Jewish linguist and professor, witnessed this discourse dissemination first-hand and recorded his observations in journals that would later become the book *LTI – Lingua Tertii Imperii: Notizbuch eines Philologen* (*The Language of the Third Reich: A Philologist's Notebook*). Although Jewish, Klemperer was protected during the Third Reich's regime by his marriage to an "Aryan" German. However, this protection extended only to the fact that he was never sent to a ghetto or a concentration camp; his professorship at the Technical University of Dresden was terminated, he had limited access to books and research materials, and he was still subject to the worst of racist slurs from strangers as well as neighbors<sup>12</sup>. "Schwein" (pig), "Hund" (dog), and even "Subspecie Judaeorum" (Jewish subspecies) are only a handful of these terms. In addition to recording the events of his own life, Klemperer reflects more deeply on the language used, noting that the Third Reich coined the idea of "Untermenschen" (subhuman, inferior people) to describe those non-Aryan minorities. The National Socialists used the psychological idea of the existence of "Untermenschen" to "depersonalize and objectify" those that it did not regard as human beings.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Ibid. Pg. 5-6

<sup>12</sup> Klemperer, Victor. *LTI: ein Notizbuch eines Philologen*, 1947, translated by Martin Brady as *The Language of the Third Reich*, 2000.

<sup>13</sup> Klemperer, Victor. *LTI: ein Notizbuch eines Philologen*, 1947, translated by Martin Brady as *The Language of the Third Reich*, 2000. Pg. 151

This trend of classifying certain groups as subhuman percolated throughout National Socialist messaging. Klemperer's account of being compared to animals such as pigs or dogs in the day-to-day discourse is only one example. The ideas of Aryan superiority were most potently articulated in the infamous book *Mein Kampf*, in which Adolf Hitler declared that it is simply a law of nature for the strong to overtake the weak, and it is necessary to struggle. He also explicitly states that those who believe in racial mixing are "helpless animals," dehumanizing those who do not have "pure blood."<sup>14</sup> Much of the National Socialist discourse grew out of *Mein Kampf*, and Hitler's dehumanizing rhetoric trickled down throughout official party statements, newspapers, and even children's literature.<sup>15</sup> For example, the picture book *Trau keinem Fuchs auf grüner Heid und keinem Jud auf seinem Eid* (Trust No Fox on his Green Heath And No Jew on his Oath), written by Elvira Bauer and published in 1936 by *Der Stürmer* – one of the main Nazi Party magazines – utilizes animal metaphors and racist stereotypes to degrade Jews. The book portrays Jewish people as descendants of the devil, explains their names stem from animals like "Katz" or "Strauss," and compares them to cows in a scene where a "German" father tells his daughter to stop hanging around a Jewish man, because "A dachshund is never put between the shafts/Of a wagon where a cow belongs."<sup>16</sup>

By perpetuating a program of dehumanization, the National Socialists convinced themselves that genocide was permissible, even the correct thing to do. Inundated with propaganda, Germans actively and passively supported the goals of the Third Reich.<sup>17</sup> As the world knows, this led to the Holocaust. Germany continues to live with this legacy as the perpetrator state, despite the

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<sup>14</sup> Hitler, Adolf. "Volk und Rasse," *Mein Kampf*, Eher Verlag, 1925.

<sup>15</sup> Townson, *Mothertongue and Fatherland*

<sup>16</sup> See Bytwerk, Randall. "Trust No Fox on his Green Heath And No Jew on his Oath by Elvira Bauer" *German Propaganda Archive*, Calvin University, 2003. <https://research.calvin.edu/german-propaganda-archive/fuchs.htm>

<sup>17</sup> Dodd, *Unquiet Voices*

program of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* (coming to terms with the past) that they have attempted to pursue in the postwar era.<sup>18</sup>

### *Multiculturalism in Germany*<sup>19</sup>

Following its defeat in 1945, Germany was split into the communist East and the capitalist West. Accepting responsibility for the war's horrors was not the priority in a divided society, and while the East generally turned away from association with the past, West Germany was forced to rebuild with history in mind.

The discrimination and violence of WWII necessitated the discussion of multiculturalism in West Germany, beginning around 1970. While no German government ever implemented specific multicultural political programs, elements of multicultural policies have existed.<sup>20</sup> Multicultural policies (MCPs) are policies that go beyond the protection of basic civil and political rights guaranteed to all individuals in a liberal-democratic state to also extend some level of public recognition and support for ethno-cultural minorities to maintain and express their distinct identities and practices.<sup>21</sup> This idea became important to liberal political parties in Germany, but minority rights were not specifically outlined by the federal government until the 1990's, following German reunification and bouts of racist violence.<sup>22</sup> It was in 1991 and 1992 that right-wing

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<sup>18</sup> For a legal perspective, see McAdams, James. *Judging the Past in Unified Germany*, Cambridge University Press, 2001.

<sup>19</sup> For a more thorough discussion of immigration history and asylum policy in Germany post-WWII, as well as political party standings in recent decades, see Khrebtan-Hörhager, Julia and Elisa I. Hörhager, "Flüchtlingsrepublik Deutschland: Divided Again," *National Rhetorics in the Syrian Immigration Crisis: Victims, Frauds, and Floods*, Michigan State University Press, 2019. <https://muse.jhu.edu/book/66222>. Pg 171.

<sup>20</sup> Kraus and Schönwälder. "Multiculturalism in Germany"

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. Pg. 205

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. Pg 206

extremists attacked homes and businesses owned by immigrants, as well as asylum-seeker reception centers.<sup>23</sup> Germany made several attempts at implementing MCPs, including recommending intercultural education for German schools in 1996, which was intended to promote tolerance and intercultural competence, and creating an anti-discrimination law in 2006. Some local governments were more supportive than the federal government; Frankfurt established an Office for Multicultural Affairs in 1989 to represent immigrants in the local government.<sup>24</sup>

Part of the hesitation in implementing wider-reaching federal MCPs had to do with the fear of designating any groups as “other.”<sup>25</sup> Because of how sociocultural and ethnic divisions lead to mass violence, Germany was careful about how separation of peoples might be perceived. This fear was more deeply-entrenched in right-wing politics, where beyond being afraid of how others perceived separation, they feared the creation of “*Parallelgesellschaften*” (parallel societies), defined by Thomas Meyer as “social collectives with a high degree of ethno-cultural homogeneity”.<sup>26</sup> This fear has been carried into right-wing political platforms today, as portrayed by the Alternative für Deutschland party.

### *2015 Immigration Crisis*

Germany, as a state with a healthy economy situated in the heart of Europe, is unsurprisingly a much sought-after destination for many immigrants, whether from within or outside of the European Union. Since 2015, multicultural dilemmas in Germany have become even more pronounced with the peak of the European migration crisis<sup>27</sup>. Due to civil war, unrest, and

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<sup>23</sup> Khrebtan-Hörhager and Hörhager, “Flüchtlingsrepublik Deutschland”

<sup>24</sup> Kraus and Schönwälder, “Multiculturalism in Germany” Pg. 207-208

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Kraus and Schönwälder “Multiculturalism in Germany” Pg. 214

<sup>27</sup> „New Year, New Fear; Sexual Assaults in Cologne.” *The Economist*, vol. 418, no. 8971, 9 Jan. 2016, pp. 22.

instability throughout the Middle East and Africa, many refugees fled to Europe in hopes of protection in democratic states. Some European countries, like Hungary, have been extremely hostile to migrants and refuse to accept those seeking asylum.<sup>28</sup> In September of 2015, hoping to set an example for the rest of Europe, Angela Merkel declared open borders for Germany, saying that they would take as many migrants as they could – “*Wir schaffen das!*” (We can do it!). The effort created several difficulties, including transport and security issues that fell as Germany celebrated Oktoberfest and an influx of tourists overlapped with the influx of migrants.<sup>29</sup> One of the most devastating consequences came on New Year’s Eve of that year, when over 1,200 women were sexually assaulted by refugees throughout Germany<sup>30</sup>, with the largest attacks occurring in Cologne. This event was a turning point for many Germans in their views on welcoming refugees.<sup>31</sup>

Since opening the borders, the German government has tightened restrictions on migration, causing tense relations with NGOs trying to help and with other European member states who have refused to accept migrants, or who have only done so reluctantly.<sup>32</sup>

The migration issue has brought far-right, nationalist parties in Europe to the forefront of anti-immigration opinion, including the Alternative für Deutschland, as well as the PEGIDA grassroots movement, two subjects of this thesis.

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<sup>28</sup> Hartocollis, Anemona. „Traveling in Europe’s River of Migrants,” *The New York Times*, 5 Sept. 2015. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/projects/cp/reporters-notebook/migrants/hungary-treatment-refugees>

<sup>29</sup> Bajekal, Naina. “Germany Ensures the Refugee Crisis Doesn’t Stop Oktoberfest,” *Time*, 28 Sept. 2015. <https://time.com/4051725/munich-oktoberfest-refugees/>

<sup>30</sup> Mascolo, George and Britta von der Heide, “1200 Frauen wurden Opfer von Silvester-Gewalt” *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 10 Jul. 2016. <https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/uebergrieffe-in-koeln-1200-frauen-wurden-opfer-von-silvester-gewalt-1.3072064>

<sup>31</sup> “Cologne’s Aftershocks; Refugees in Germany,” *The Economist*, vol. 418, no. 8972, 16 Jan. 2016, pp. 58.

<sup>32</sup> “German Government Agrees on Migration Compromise,” *Deutsche Welle*, 5 Jul. 2018. <https://p.dw.com/p/30uhV>

## Methodology

### *Social Media as a Research Tool*

Social media has become an influential part of life in the twenty-first century. As an extension of the social world we interact with each day, platforms like Twitter, Facebook, and Instagram enable people all over the world to interact and to discuss topics that they never could face-to-face. Much of modern discourse takes place on social media. Twitter is unique in its ability to facilitate discourse by emphasizing brief thoughts – no more than 280 characters – “retweets” or shares, and quick responses. Twitter’s use of hashtags, trends, and advanced search features allow users to easily find discussions on topics in which they are interested, identify which ideas are the most popular at a given time, and search for specific tweets. Twitter is a public-facing network, and it allows users to keep in touch with friends, share multimedia, consume news, advertise industries, engage with voters, and gather real-time customer feedback.<sup>33</sup> The platform is also free; anyone with internet access and an email address can sign up and interact with anyone else’s tweets, provided their account is not private. Used by celebrities, politicians, news sources, and the average Joe alike, Twitter provides a channel for anyone’s news and opinion to be heard. Consequently, examining discourse on Twitter is one way of understanding social interactions.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Hadaker, Claire and Mark McGlashen. ““Real men don’t hate women”: Twitter rape threats and group identity,” *Journal of Pragmatics*, vol. 91, 2016, pg 80-93. <https://proxy.lib.ohio-state.edu/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edselp&AN=S0378216615003100&site=eds-live&scope=site>

<sup>34</sup> Zappavigna, Michele. “Political Discourse Online: Microblogging as a Form of Political Expression” *Discourse of Twitter and Social Media: How We Use Language to Create Affiliation on the Web*, 2012, pg 170-190. On pg 173, Zappavigna states that “A social pattern has emerged whereby at times of international and local political events or crises, the general public, or the subset thereof that uses social media, will take to their platform of choice (e.g. Twitter or Facebook) to voice a political opinion or present an emotional reaction.” This shows that social media usage can reflect real-world events.

To identify Tweets relevant to my research questions, I utilized the “Advanced Search” feature, which provided a way to filter the immigration discourse for a specific time period. For each of the three political organizations, I searched the official party profile’s Tweets within a one-month span of the opening of the borders and the New Year’s Eve sexual assaults. One month was chosen as a cut-off point to encompass the majority of discourse related to or influenced by the events, yet also to provide a margin for the extent of this research. Tweets from these accounts within this timeline that made mention of refugees, Angela Merkel, Germany or the German people, other political parties, the border, immigration policies, or coded references to any of these topics are considered as data in this study. Twitter’s capabilities and the norms governing its use are important to considering the constrictions on this specific discourse analysis. I do not seek to attempt a corpus linguistics study or to make an argument about the function of twitter<sup>35</sup>. Rather, this research focuses on a qualitative analysis of a sample of Tweets to draw conclusions about the metaphors present in German immigration rhetoric.

### *Discourse Analysis*

“Linguistic meaning is fully unfolded not at the level of the word, but at the level of discourse.”<sup>36</sup>

Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak define discourse as “a cluster of context-dependent semiotic practices that are situated within specific fields of social action, socially constituted and socially constitutive, related to a macro-topic, and linked to the argumentation about validity claims such

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<sup>35</sup> For an analysis of how people communicate and collaborate on Twitter, see Honeycutt, Courtenay and Susan C. Herring. “Beyond Microblogging: Conversation and Collaboration via Twitter,” *2009 42nd Hawaii International Conference on System Sciences*, 2009, doi: 10.1109/HICSS.2009.89

<sup>36</sup> Dodd, *Unquiet Voices*.

as truth and normative validity involving several social actors who have different points of view.”<sup>37</sup>

A discourse can contain a wide range of written or spoken texts. In this study, the discourse environment<sup>38</sup> is delineated as the official Tweets from each political party along with direct responses to those Tweets.

Two main theories have influenced the methodology: Wolfgang Iser’s Reader-Response Theory and Ruth Wodak’s Discourse Historical Approach. Wolfgang Iser, a German literary scholar active throughout the later twentieth century, explained that meaning does not come from within a text itself.<sup>39</sup> Rather, meaning is constructed between the text and the reader based on how a reader connects the text with their own experience and knowledge.<sup>40</sup> This theory explains the importance of considering responses to texts, as that is how we can understand the full meaning of the text. Without knowing how individuals have interpreted the texts, there is no way to fully understand its context and impacts. In this case, the responses are the replies to the official party Tweets.

The Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) comes out of the field of critical discourse analysis, courtesy of Ruth Wodak, an Austrian linguist. With an emphasis on multiple levels of analysis, the DHA offers a way to make sense of complicated discourse, such as political discourse, where many layers may need to be uncovered. The first level focuses on the thematic dimensions of the texts by mapping out the contents and assigning them to particular discourses.<sup>41</sup> The second level focuses on coherence and cohesion of texts in detail, including analyzing the genre, the macro-structure, the discursive strategies, and the argumentation schemes. The DHA emphasizes the

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<sup>37</sup> Reisigl and Wodak, “The Discourse Historical Approach”

<sup>38</sup> Term borrowed from Dodd, where he uses it to mean all of the discourse around a given topic, especially when intentionally constructed, as in the National Socialist discourse.

<sup>39</sup> Mambrol, Nasrullah. „Key Theories of Wolfgang Iser,” *Literariness*, 12 Feb. 2018.  
<https://literariness.org/2018/02/12/key-theories-of-wolfgang-iser/>

<sup>40</sup> Ibid.

<sup>41</sup> Reisigl and Wodak, “The Discourse Historical Approach”



importance of context by looking at “texts as they related to structured knowledge. [Discourses] are realized in specific genres and must be viewed in terms of their situatedness.”<sup>42</sup> For this study, it is important to consider various levels of contexts. Historically, German discourse must reckon with the legacy of National Socialist rhetoric. Each political party should be understood in their own creation and rise to power. In addition, the status of immigration in Europe is vital background.

While this study has not followed the DHA in its entirety, I have adapted the DHA data tables to visualize my data and focused on several of the discourse trends outlined by Reisigl and Wodak: nomination, predication, and perspectivization.<sup>43</sup> Because of this research’s focus on metaphors, nomination - how persons, objects, events, processes, and actions related to immigration are named and referred to linguistically – and predication - characteristics, qualities, and features that are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events, and processes – make the most sense for categorizing my data. Perspectivization is also considered through the division of the discourse environment into the three main political parties, as well as the left-wing responses.

There are important parallels between the National Socialist rhetoric and that of today’s political parties, but I am omitting nearly 70 years of history between the two, and therefore I am not attempting to draw out causation between historical discourse and modern discourse. The two discourses are also not the same – but because of the historical context, it is impossible to ignore the modern-day corollaries. Keeping history in mind, I can better understand the context for terms used in the modern-day discourse, such as “Volk” to categorize Germans, animal metaphors to

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<sup>42</sup> Wodak, Ruth. *The Politics of Fear*, SAGE Publications, 2015.

<sup>43</sup> Reisigl and Wodak, “The Discourse Historical Approach”

describe immigrants, and “ours” vs. “theirs” to delineate Germany. Looking at these terms in texts (or Tweets), can help to reveal ideology, power dynamics, and social realities.

### **Overview of Analysis**

In each of the three chapters to follow, I examine the immigration section of the party platform or manifesto, the Twitter data following the opening of borders, and the Twitter data following the New Year’s Eve attacks in Cologne. The platforms are used as framework, while the bulk of the analysis is focused on the rhetoric occurring on Twitter. A variety of metaphors arise in each party’s discourse environment, with everything from battles to spatial orientation to the Titanic. One theme that appears in all environments is that of nature. These themes contribute to the idea that many metaphors are used to dehumanize those perceived as “other”, whether intentionally or unintentionally, across a spectrum of ideology and events.

## **Chapter One: The Christian Democratic Union**

The Christian Democratic Union of Germany – *Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands* in German – was established in 1945 to fill the void left in German government after World War II. Those involved in various political parties prior to the war, including many former Weimar Republic politicians, consolidated to form this interdenominational Christian party, known as the CDU, to encompass those with both liberal and conservative backgrounds. Because the founding members of the CDU attributed Hitler’s rise to power and the success of the National Socialist German Workers’ Party to divisions in Germany’s religious communities, they hoped to unite Christians across denominations<sup>44</sup>. The CDU focused on policies for a “social market economy” characterized by a mix of free-market capitalism with strong government regulation and a comprehensive welfare state. The CDU was the favored party by Allied (United States and British) forces and enjoyed dominant status in West Germany for several decades before becoming the main opposition party in 1969 and finally returning to power in the early 1980’s under Helmut Kohl. After a funding scandal in the late 1990s, Angela Merkel was chosen as the CDU’s leader and became chancellor in 2005, succeeding Gerhard Schröder. The CDU has maintained majority status through the time of writing, although Merkel’s announced retirement and her likely successor’s resignation has made the future of the CDU uncertain.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> See Conradt, David. “Christian Democratic Union,” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2018.

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Christian-Democratic-Union-political-party-Germany> and “Geschichte der CDU“ CDU. <https://www.cdu.de/partei/geschichte>

<sup>45</sup> See Godin, Melissa. “A Far Right Scandal Pushed Merkel's Successor to Resign. Here's How That Could Change Germany's Political Future” *Time*. 12 Feb. 2020. <https://time.com/5782778/angela-merkel-successor-annegret-kramp-karrenbauer/>

Today, the CDU is widely viewed in Germany as a center-right party, and many would argue that Merkel nudged the party to the left during her time in office.<sup>46</sup> In particular, the 2015 refugee crisis in Europe and Merkel's decision to open Germany's borders, declaring "*Wir schaffen das!*" or "We can do it!" has come to largely define her chancellorship and the party itself. Despite initial disagreement within the government, party officials were able to compromise on refugee policies over the past few years. This embrace of human rights, as interpreted by liberal readers, reflects the CDU's democratic founding principles but tinges the party with a widely perceived liberalness that populist and national parties have exploited, staking their own claims as conservative "alternatives."<sup>47</sup>

Due to Angela Merkel's and her government's active role in the refugee crisis, as well as their status as the most popular, mainstream party of the last fifteen years, the CDU is an essential starting point to better understand conservative rhetoric in Germany. It serves as both a baseline for how the political right in Germany talks about immigrants and a catalyst for broader immigration rhetoric, because of the party's position as the primary immigration policymakers; after all, the CDU has been the preferred vote of conservative Germans for nearly 70 years.<sup>48</sup> Defining the CDU as a moderate, yet right-wing party clearly distinguishes it from the two other analyzed groups. This position on the spectrum of conservative politics is crucial to understanding their metaphor usage and immigration rhetoric.

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<sup>46</sup> Green, Simon. "Societal Transformation and Programmatic Change in the CDU." *German Politics*, vol. 22, no. 1/2, June 2013, pp. 46–63. *EBSCOhost*, doi:10.1080/09644008.2013.795551

<sup>47</sup> Decker, Frank. "The "Alternative for Germany:" Factors Behind its Emergence and Profile of a New Right-wing Populist Party," *German Politics and Society*, vol. 34, no. 2, 2016.

<sup>48</sup> Conradt, "Christian Democratic Union"

This chapter examines the CDU's immigration rhetoric, beginning with an analysis of the party's immigration platform from the most recently updated party manifesto to establish the official and generalized stance of the party on immigration. Next, this chapter analyzes a selection of official tweets from the @CDU Twitter account, Tweets from the account of CDU's Secretary General and active Twitter user Peter Tauber, and Twitter users' responses to those tweets to uncover trends in the immigration rhetoric following the 2015 opening of borders and subsequent New Year's Eve attacks in Cologne. The data taken from the three contexts discussed in this chapter is not sufficient for a complete discourse analysis of the CDU's discourse environment, as it excludes voices engaged in this discourse that use references or hashtags rather than direct Twitter replies. Further, this research does not have the bandwidth to separate each analyzed Tweet by ideology, party membership, or bot status. However, the sampling of data included in this research still provides a robust look at the discourse environment and can still be used to draw conclusions about the impacts of these metaphors<sup>49</sup>. Accordingly, armed with this data, I present the discourse environment created by and around the CDU and investigate how the rhetoric dehumanizes various actors.

## **Rhetoric Data & Analysis**

### *Party Platform*

The immigration portion of the CDU's 2007 platform "*Freiheit und Sicherheit*" – "Freedom and Safety" – comprises barely two and a half pages of the 123-page document.<sup>50</sup> Titled

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<sup>49</sup> The DHA focuses on detailed case studies of primarily qualitative data. While our data samples are small, the qualitative analysis makes them valid under the DHA methodology.

<sup>50</sup> It is important to note that the "*Freiheit und Sicherheit*" platform discussed here is ending its tenure, and as can be seen on the CDU website at the time of writing, the party is undertaking the development of a new

*“Integrationsland Deutschland,”* the section foregrounds the importance of integration<sup>51</sup>. As the “people’s party of the middle,” as the party names itself, the CDU began the 21<sup>st</sup> century primarily concerned with maintaining a cohesive Germany, where immigrants could be integrated into the native-born German population and thrive. This document stresses the importance of diversity and other overarching values while emphasizing the preference for professional, educated migrants and the steadfast belief that everyone must be accepting of the equal rights of women and men. This immigration platform engages three main rhetorical themes: assets or commodities, values and principles, and nature. These three ideas blend together to create a platform that may appeal to a more educated audience who have a strong sense of economic and societal trends, as well as the ability to connect abstract ideas to the real world.

By reducing immigrants to “assets” and commodities, the CDU party platform rhetorically portrays the de-personalized benefits and drawbacks of immigration. The document is peppered with descriptions of immigrants as *“leistungsbereit”* (motivated) and *“erfolgreich”* (successful). By deploying words that emphasize the productive attributes of immigrants, the party platform sells the value of immigrants. Immigrants are *“ein Gewinn für unser Land”* (an asset for our land) that need to be integrated *“ihre Talente entfalten”* (to unfurl their talents). More literally, some uses of commodity-related metaphors, like *“unserem geprägten Menschenbild”* (our minted idea of man), *“das gesellschaftliche Gefüge”* (the social fabric), and *“profitieren”* (to profit), appeal to the logic of economies and the physicality of products, like fabric and minted coins. *“Werte”*

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*Grundsatzprogramm.* As *“Freiheit und Sicherheit”* was the platform at the time of the 2015 discourse events in this research, it will be treated as the reference point for this group’s discourse. See platform here:

<https://www.cdu.de/grundsatzprogramm-2007>

<sup>51</sup> “Integration” is broadly defined as “The process by which migrants become accepted into society, both as individuals and as groups.” For more, see “Migrant Integration,” *Migration Data Portal*.

<https://migrationdataportal.org/themes/migrant-integration>

(worth, in a financial sense; merit) is also used repeatedly to describe Germany and German society. Such uses imply that this “worth” is something immigrants must understand and to which they must contribute<sup>52</sup>. The double-meaning of “*Werte*” as both financial and qualitative plays into its role as a metaphor.

Along with economic worth, the more abstract interpretation of “worth” as “merit” or “excellence” is present in this rhetorical environment, as values or principles are prevalent in this text, likely influenced by and influential to the Christian background<sup>53</sup> of the primary leaders, writers, and audience of this document. Values can be seen in words such as “*positiven Prozess*” (positive process), “*humanitären Verpflichtungen*” (humanitarian commitments), “*weltoffenes und tolerantes Land*” (cosmopolitan and tolerant country), “*Normen unserer freiheitlich-demokratischen Grundordnung*” (norms of our free-democratic fundamental order), and “*die Akzeptanz kultureller Vielfalt*” (the acceptance of cultural diversity). “Positive”, “humanitarian”, and “free” are words that often differ in connotation and denotation, but in a larger discussion of “values,” such terms show the benefits of society and helpful actions of people. The repeated use of “*Verantwortung*” (responsibility, stewardship) shows an emphasis on the actions of Germans as following from their values. “*Wir halten in historischer Verantwortung unser Politik der Aufnahme deutscher Spätaussiedler...*” („Our policy of accepting German late emigrants is a historical responsibility...“) references history, likely WWII, as creating the preconditions for the responsibility they now hold to atone for that past. We also see direct reference to the Christian

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<sup>52</sup> For a discussion on German perspectives on immigrants, see Weiss, Akiva and Marina Tulin “Does mentoring make immigrants more desirable? A conjoint analysis,” *Migration Studies*, 2019. Their findings conclude that immigrants who receive mentoring – a process that “communicates values related to social cohesion, employability, and trainability” – were more likely to be accepted by native Germans than those who did not receive the same “social cohesion” interactions.

<sup>53</sup> Khrebtan-Hörhager and Hörhager, “Flüchtlingsrepublik Deutschland”

values underlying the CDU in the phrase: „...wie es der aus unserem christlich geprägten *Menschenbild entspringenden Verantwortung entspricht*“ (“...how it corresponds to the responsibility arising from our Christian image of man”). Here, the document calls directly upon the religious backgrounds of the audience to encourage them to uphold an image and take action.

The third theme present in this text – a particularly important one to this research – is the use of nature metaphors. They are often subtle yet bring the abstract discussion of values back down to earth – quite literally. Examples such as “*Herkunftsgebiet*” (source area, in geology) and “*Wurzeln*” (roots) refer to the homelands of the immigrants. While the word “roots” is commonly used in English rhetoric as well, it is important to recognize it as metaphorical. Plants grow from their roots, and we often use this idea to describe human places of origin as well. Further uses of nature rhetoric include “*befruchten*” (to fertilize) and “*entspringen*” (to rise, to spring, to flow from). “*Einbürgerung*” (naturalization). While “naturalization” is a citizenship-related word in both English and German, the German word can also be translated as “ecesis,” the process through which a plant or animal is established in a new environment, again showing the double-meaning of this word as metaphorical by nature. By using nature metaphors to refer to the way refugees fit into society, this discourse implies that the refugees may be seen as less than human. We will revisit this rhetoric later in the chapter.

While not all these rhetorical trends repeat themselves in the CDU’s Twitter data, they can be used to outline the general thinking patterns of this political party, as well as their specific choices for discussing immigration. The immigration platform establishes that the CDU is open yet cautious about immigration while expressing a sense of duty towards democracy and freedom – values that they apply towards the acceptance of refugees.



### *Twitter Data: The Opening of Borders*

On August 31st, 2015, Angela Merkel ushered in a new era in German history when she stated “*Wir schaffen das!*” (We can do it!) in regard to accepting what would end up being close to one million refugees into the Republic. Because the declaration was met with dissent from within the ranks of the CDU, it has created a diverse discourse. To construct a picture of the discourse environment surrounding the CDU during this event, we need to include not only tweets from the official @CDU account and the CDU’s Secretary General Peter Tauber, but also the responses to those tweets.

In the CDU’s “Open Borders” data, we find that the main themes follow quite closely from the ideas outlined in the party stance on immigration, at least from the official accounts. There is a strong discussion of values or principles, including a reference to “*das C in der CDU*” (The ‘C’ in the CDU), standing for Christian values, and “*Grundlage unseres Zusammenlebens in Frieden and Freiheit sind unsere Werte*” (Our values are the basis of our coexistence in peace and freedom), which echoes those ideas from earlier. The CDU largely stands by this official narrative in espousing Germany as a “*Willkommenskultur*” (Culture of Welcome) and emphasizing, through the use of the English-language hashtag #refugeeswelcome, that they are open to refugees. This theme is reinforced using open/closed metaphors and the rhetoric of help.

There are several explicit uses of the open/closed metaphor. Primarily, we see the usage of “open” in the declaration that refugees “*finden offene Herzen*” (find open hearts) amongst the Germans. The usage of open/closed also comes to mind when discussing the border, something often

described as open or closed. As more refugees arrived in Germany, the CDU later emphasized that the border was “*nicht geschlossen*” (not closed) but instead “*kontrolliert*” (controlled). The open/closed metaphor is also deployed in more subtle ways. Generally, the action of welcoming someone implies that they are entering a space that is yours and not theirs. The use of nominative “ours” delineates spatial boundaries that “belong” to the German people into which they welcome refugees. In both the CDU and responses to them, we see repeated use of “*unser*” (our) to describe Germany, for instance “*wir haben das unsererseits erforderliche getan. nun müssen die übrigen eu-staaten tätig werden.*” (We have done what is necessary on our part. Now the rest of the EU states must take action”), where “*wir*” and “*unsererseits*” clearly describe Germany in contrast to the other EU member states. Another example arises in “*Klares Bekenntnis zum Grundrecht auf Asyl. Jeder, der unsere Hilfe wirklich braucht, bekommt sie auch.*” (“Clear commitment to the fundamental right to asylum. Anyone who really needs our help will get it.”) and “*Ziel: Menschen zu Bürgern unseres Landes machen.*” (Goal: Make people citizens of our country). Here again, “*unser*” clearly refers to that of Germany, as well as the CDU specifically, coming from the official account. Usages of “*unser*” rarely, if ever, encompass both Germans *and* refugees in this discourse sample. It is primarily used to delineate Germany from outsiders, whether in a protective sense or a welcoming sense, and implies that “our” country is something that “we” can open or close to “others”.

The rhetoric of help is quite prevalent in Twitter discussions of immigration. In this context, many people seemed to be excited for the arrival of refugees and ready to do anything they could to support them, frequently using words like “*helfen*” (to help) and “*Helfer*” (helpers). This theme is also illustrated through the designation of refugees primarily as passive objects and the Germans as active subjects. The Germans (and the CDU members) “*helfen*” and “*engagieren*” (engage)

and “*kennen kein Dienstschluss*” (know no end to service). However, refugees merely “*braucht unsere Hilfe*” (need our help), “*bekommt unsere Hilfe*” (receive our help), “*zu Bürgern unseres Landes machen*” (will be made citizens of our country), and should “*lassen direct in Ungarn abholen*” (should be directly picked up in Hungary). Germans, with active verbs, are the helpful agents, while passive verbs cast refugees as creatures that cannot help themselves. This framing feeds into potential a CDU savior narrative<sup>54</sup>.

Nature metaphors are less commonly used in this discourse environment, and when present, they occur in responses to the CDU’s official tweets. The influx of refugees in Germany is described through water imagery such as “*Welle*” (wave) and “*Flut*” (flood). We also see an emphasis on numbers and groups instead of individuals, in “*Clans*” and “*Pack*” (English cognates), which are also words associated with groups of animals. A telling example is one response’s description of Peter Tauber’s words as “*Pfadfindersprüche*” (*Pfadfinder* slogan). *Pfadfinders* in Germany are akin to American Boy Scouts. These groups by design are connected to nature.<sup>55</sup> In comparing Tauber to a *Pfadfinder*, this response is indirectly associating the refugees with nature, as if Tauber is the *Pfadfinder* exploring the wilderness and studying “nature” – or immigrants. It could also refer to Tauber as a “goody-goody,” wanting to help people. Another indirect example is the call for politicians to go “*draußen*” (outside) where the refugees are, “*an die frische Luft*” (in the fresh air). We generally consider humans to live “inside” and animals or other natural processes to occur “outside.” This, again, by saying refugees are “outside”, associates them as part of nature, and brings the question, do they belong inside? Here, the usage of in/out echoes that of open/closed.

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<sup>54</sup> El Sheikh, Sarah. “Dehumanizing Refugees: Between Demonization and Idealization,” 2017. El Sheikh reflects in the blog post, part of the “Representations of Displacement” Series, on her experiences with refugees, the savior narratives of entities trying to help, and how this can ultimately contribute to a sense of dehumanization. See the post here: <https://refugeehosts.org/2017/12/13/dehumanizing-refugees-between-demonization-and-idealization/>

<sup>55</sup> Spitzer, M. “Pfadfinder, Wandervögel und seelische Gesundheit,” in *Nervenheilkunde* 1-2, Page 9-15. 2017.

If nature is outside, and refugees are part of that, these metaphors can insinuate that they may not belong inside the country.

From these various themes of principles, welcome, open/closed, helping Germans and helpless refugees, and nature metaphors, we can see that this discourse event encompasses a full spectrum of positive views of refugees to quite negative ones. We will keep this diversity in perspectivation in mind as we look at more data.

#### *Twitter Data: New Year's Eve*

Because the 2015-2016 New Year's Eve sexual assaults did not hit the news cycle until several days later, the public responses to the tweets spoke sooner about the attacks than the CDU did in its official capacity. The data from this event also showed a major shift in overall tone towards refugees and immigrants from mostly positive or neutral to largely negative.<sup>56</sup> In addition to tweets about refugees, Twitter users often discussed the government itself and the betrayal that German citizens felt.

One of the overarching themes is that of crime or threat. Refugees are frequently portrayed monolithically<sup>57</sup> as "*Kriminelle*"(Criminals), "*Terroristen*"(Terrorists), "*Muslimen*"(Muslims), "*Vergewaltiger*" (rapists), and "*junge Männer*" (young men). This universalizing rhetoric covers

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<sup>56</sup> Khrebtan-Hörhager and Hörhager, "Flüchtlingsrepublik Deutschland," page 168. The authors discuss a "discursive shift from neutrality to the negativity associated with a "burden" in relation to refugees" as becoming "a noticeable tendency in the national rhetoric."

<sup>57</sup> I use the term "monolithization" as the act of metaphorically describing individual people or objects as a singular unit. This strategy is common in the nature metaphors, such as "wave", but is also used more abstractly with "masses."

up the diversity of refugees in favor of buzzwords that create a stronger sense of threat. Because not all refugees, of course, are criminals, describing them as such presents them as something they are not. Similarly, we see the monolithization of nearly all Germans as victims, in the responses stating how terrible letting immigrants in will be for “*Frauen*” (women) and “*Kinder*” (children). “Women and children” as entire groups are used to refer to the victims<sup>58</sup> of the sexual assaults, despite that those harmed were only a small percentage<sup>59</sup> of this population, and it is unlikely that all women and children were threatened. There is some evidence of a men-as-perpetrator, women-as-victim dichotomy.

Along with the theme of crime, we see a change from refugees as passive to refugees as active. Instead of the Germans acting on behalf of the refugees, the refugees are described with active verbs, such as “*zerstören*” (to destroy), “*bestehlen*” (to steal), “*klauen*”(to steal/shoplift), “*begrapschen*”(to grope), “*attackierten*”(to attack), and “*morden*” (murder). It can obviously be said that the predication of the refugees is no longer passive and helpless, but rather agential and capable of causing harm “inside” Germany. This shift to active verbs implies the refugees are no longer deserving of help, as they are no longer characterized as “helpless creatures,” as seen earlier. There is only one mention of “welcome” to be found, and it is only in reference to the government “*locken mit #welcome*” (baiting with #welcome). The discourse has shifted to fault the

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<sup>58</sup> There is discussion in sexual assault advocacy as to the usage of the term “victim” vs. “survivor.” Here I am following the terminology of RAINN (Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network) in using “victim” to refer to those who have been recently affected. Were I to follow-up with these women today, I would likely switch to the term “survivor,” as time has passed and they have gone through the recovery process. See RAINN’s terminology guidance here: <https://www.rainn.org/articles/key-terms-and-phrases>

<sup>59</sup> According to *The Economist*’s January 9<sup>th</sup>, 2016 article “New year, new fear; Sexual assaults in Cologne,” approximately 100 women filed complaints against the perpetrators. While I do not intend to diminish their experiences, here I am hoping to express the idea that not every woman in Germany has been placed in danger, and this event cannot be scaled up to make that claim.

government for welcoming the refugees and move the blame away from Germany as a whole. It also insinuates that the government had ulterior motives for bringing refugees to Germany.

Nature metaphors crop up again, not in the official CDU tweets but primarily in the replies thereto. The above example of “baiting” is one example already, as bait is used primarily to catch animals. “*Pack*” shows up again, along with “*Horden*” (hordes), referring to the refugees as animal groupings. “*Welle*” (wave) shows up again, but other uses of nature metaphors to describe the refugees are limited. The crime/threat rhetoric seems to be the strongest following this event, as it is incorporated into more than half of the responses to CDU tweets that mention immigrants in my data set. The government’s lack of action is mimicked through snail metaphors, however, with “*Schneckenmodus*” (snail mode) and “*schneller kann keine Schnecke Probleme effizient meistern*” (a snail could solve the problem more quickly and efficiently). This is an interesting change in comparing not only refugees, but also the government to nature. Here, there is a developing theme of nature as something rather negative. The respondents are angry at refugees and frustrated at the government, so by comparing them both to nature, they are able to dehumanize them to express their discontent.

Although it is unsurprising to find much more negative perspectivization after a tragic event of many sexual assaults, the occurrence marks a notable development of the CDU’s immigration discourse towards unfavorable opinions of refugees.

## Conclusions

Of the three discourse environments this thesis analyzes, the CDU represents the most diverse array of opinions on immigration. As a moderate party in charge of the government, this does not come as a surprise.

The CDU's rhetoric largely shows a sense of ambivalence towards refugees, which opens up space for respondents with many different perspectives. Seen in the platform mostly as prizes to be won for the country, then during the border opening as creatures that need help, they do not afford much agency to refugees until perpetrators with mostly immigrant backgrounds committed sexual assaults during New Year's Eve. After that, every negative opinion comes out to play, especially in the responses to the CDU. This lack of agency is one element feeding into a sense of dehumanization of refugees, but the agency afforded to the refugees as perpetrators dehumanizes them in a different way, as predators instead of helpless creatures. The repeated use of nature metaphors also employs this dehumanization, both directly and indirectly, in the comparisons to animals, natural disasters, or simply the nature associations, such as "*draußen an die frische Luft*" and Tauber's "*Pfadfindersprüche*". The nature metaphors are the most prevalent across the texts from the CDU discourse environment, even if they are not always the strongest metaphors within each text.

The CDU's diversity of metaphors and rhetorical speech sets up a broad spectrum onto which the AfD and PEGIDA will fall quite clearly. In Chapter 2, we will move on to analyze the AfD's rhetoric in the same event discourses and see how their metaphors compare to that of the CDU.

**Table 1.1 – CDU “Open Borders” Discursive Strategies Analysis**

	Refugees/Immigration	Germans/Germany	Politicians	The Border
<i>Nomination Strategies</i>	-Gipfel -Frage -Clans -Welle -Pack -Flut -Ein Gewinn für Deutschland	-Uns -Viele Helfer -Mein Land -Willkommensland -Schulterklopfer -Das Volk		
<i>Predication Strategies</i>	-Unsere Hilfe braucht/bekommt -Welcome -Priorität zu Integration -Finden offenen Herzen -Einheitliche -Zu Bürgern unseres Landes machen -handeln -Draußen -An die frische Luft -Dreck -Schwarzen -Lassen direkt in Ungarn abholen	-Helfen die Flüchtlingen -Offene Herzen -Tun etwas wirklich gutes -Engagieren -Zuhören -Sorgen ernst nehmen -Schon Zahlen -Schützen Deutschland vor invasion -Bunt -Wird sich massiv verändern -Helfen gern -Aktiv bekämpfen gegen Probleme	-Nehmen jeden einzelnen in den Blick	-Vorübergehende -Notwendig und zulässig -Nicht geschlossen -Kontrolliert -Notwendig -Ohne Grenze

\* Terms that appear in similar forms more than once are designated with a star; Terms that come from the official Tweets are in black, terms that come from replies are listed in blue.

**Table 1.2 – CDU “NYE” Strategies Analysis**

	Refugees/Immigration	Germans/Germany	Politicians	The Border
<i>Nomination Strategies</i>	-Krise* -Frage -Pack -Vergewaltiger -Massenexzesse -Kriminelle* -Silvestermobs* -Horden -Massen* -Zuzug -Strom	-Wettbewerbsfähigkeit* -Sicherheit* -Erfolgskurs -ihre eigene Volk -Frauen und Kinder: Opfern	-Mittäter -heiße Luft -Schneckenmodus -Schnecken	-Obergrenze: ist ein zahnloser Tiger



*Predication  
Strategies*

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Problem*</li> <li>-Muslimen*</li> <li>-Welle</li> <li>-Terroristen</li> <li>-Integrations-</li> <li>katastrophe*</li> <li>-Abschaum</li> </ul>			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-weniger*</li> <li>-durch sichere Herkunftsländer</li> <li>-straffällige*</li> <li>-zerstören Europa</li> <li>-tatverdächtigen</li> <li>-importierte</li> <li>-haben bestohlen und sexuell belästigt</li> <li>-vergeswaltigen*</li> <li>-klauen</li> <li>-begrapschen</li> <li>-attaktierten</li> <li>-junge</li> <li>-männliche</li> <li>-untergebrochen</li> <li>-mordern</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Zusammenhalt*</li> <li>-sich Sorgen machen</li> <li>-wären wir ein großen Schritt weiter</li> <li>-hinsehen und handeln</li> <li>-fühlen sich oder sind bedroht</li> <li>-entschuldigt bei</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-wissen</li> <li>-Probleme lösen nicht nur beschreiben</li> <li>-konzentrieren</li> <li>-handelt Koalition</li> <li>-tragen Verantwortung*</li> <li>-Merkel: muss weg, lasche, tut nichts, wird abgestraft, schafft und, lebt in einer anderen Welt</li> <li>-de Maziere: baut nur Mist aber bellen</li> <li>-belügen*</li> <li>-Verheizt die Bürger dieses Landes</li> <li>-hat Feigheit vor der Wahrheit</li> <li>-orientierungslos</li> <li>-träumen</li> <li>-nicht entschärfen</li> <li>-locken mit #welcome</li> <li>-Gesellschaft fluten</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-durchsetzen Recht an der Grenze</li> <li>-öffnen</li> <li>-kosten</li> <li>-geöffnet bei Merkel</li> <li>-sorfotige schliessen</li> </ul>

## **Chapter 2: Alternative für Deutschland**

Unlike the CDU, the *Alternative für Deutschland* (AfD) does not have a long history. The party was officially formed in 2013 to run in the German federal elections on a platform of Euroscepticism, dissolution of the Eurozone, and opposition to immigration and same-sex marriage. Winning 4.7% of the vote that year, the AfD narrowly missed the 5% threshold required to join the Bundestag. In 2014, the growing AfD participated in the European parliament election and was able to secure seven seats, with the fifth highest percentage of votes for Germany. The party went on to gain seats in many German state elections, including Saxony, Thuringia, and Brandenburg. In 2015, the AfD achieved its first success in the former-West German state of Hamburg. Shortly after, Frauke Petry assumed leadership as the principal speaker of the party and is regarded as the main driving force behind the party's shift to the right and to the concerns of migration, Islam, and Russian relations. Petry even said publicly that she wanted to reclaim the word “*völkisch*” – a term popularized by the Nazis to describe Aryan Germans<sup>60</sup>. This caused members, including one of the original founders, to quit the party, citing the rise of xenophobia. The AfD continued to gain power in state elections throughout 2016, and in 2017, they won 12.6% of the national vote in Germany and entered the Bundestag for the first time with 94 seats.<sup>61</sup> This was the first time a far-right party had sat in the Bundestag since the National Socialists.

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<sup>60</sup> “‘Nazi Word’ Revived by German AfD Chief,” *BBC*, 12 Sept. 2016. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-37337927>

<sup>61</sup> Frauke Petry left the party before the federal election, when Alexander Gauland took over, and she began her own party. Petry fed into a trend of various splinter parties coming from an AfD that has seemed to have an ever-more-right-learning ideology.

In the early days, the AfD was meant to appeal to a center-right, middle class group of supporters. However, in more recent years, the AfD has embraced a public image fraught with nativism<sup>62</sup>, racism, right-wing populism, climate change denial, anti-Islam, anti-immigration, and anti-feminism. This shift in belief system, as well as positioning as a foil to Angela Merkel and the CDU, places the AfD at the center of immigration discourse. The party maintains its role as an “alternative” to the mainstream but is slowly gaining more power in national politics and has thus had increasing influence in the immigration debates. As a party that debates with the CDU in public-facing government yet participates in marches with PEGIDA under the table<sup>63</sup>, AfD’s discourse is a connecting point between the most mainstream and most extreme immigration discourse.

This chapter examines the AfD’s immigration rhetoric, beginning with an analysis of the party’s immigration platform from the most recently updated party manifesto to establish the official and generalized stance of the party on immigration. Next, this chapter analyzes a selection of official tweets from the @AfD Twitter account, the account of former speaker Frauke Petry<sup>64</sup>, and Twitter users’ responses to those tweets.

Through this analysis, we can see that the AfD has consistently used negative metaphors to describe immigrants as well as the German government. Unlike the CDU, they do not start out

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<sup>62</sup> Pappas, Takis S. "The Specter Haunting Europe: Distinguishing Liberal Democracy's Challengers." *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 27 no. 4, 2016, p. 22-36. Project MUSE, doi:10.1353/jod.2016.0059.

<sup>63</sup> Grabow, K. "PEGIDA and the Alternative für Deutschland: two sides of the same coin?" *European View* vol. 15, 2016. pg. 173–181. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12290-016-0419-1>

<sup>64</sup> Petry still held an important role at the party at the relevant time period for this research and has been included here despite later leaving the party.

positive before shifting to a negative tone, but rather maintain their negativity across the two major events, with only a slight amplification in metaphor uses in the New Year's Eve data.

## Rhetoric Data & Analysis

### *Party Manifesto*

The AfD offers its *Grundsatzprogramm* “*Programm für Deutschland*”<sup>65</sup> in both long and short formats. The full version, clocking in at 190 pages, is the longest of the three party platforms analyzed in this study. The AfD has also offers translations of their manifesto into English, French, Spanish, Russian, Czech, and Hungarian. While an analysis of the manifesto in its entirety would likely offer a deeper look into the discursive strategies and thinking process of the AfD, I chose to focus only on the “*Einwanderung, Integration und Asyl*” (Immigration, Integration, and Asylum) portion, as this is the most directly related to immigration discourse. My rhetoric data comes from the first six pages of this section, the introduction and the section “*Asylzuwanderung – für einen Paradigmenwechsel*” (Asylum Immigration – For a Paradigm Shift) to keep the size of the sample comparable to that of the CDU.

The AfD starts off the immigration section of the manifesto with a statement on free speech. It emphasizes the need for everyone to speak their mind about immigration and move away from “*ein ideologische vergiftetes Klima der “politischen Korrektheit”*” (An ideologically poisoned climate of “political correctness”<sup>66</sup>). They go on to clarify the definitions between different kinds

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<sup>65</sup> I have been unable to determine the exact publication time of the platform. We can assume it was after the party formed in 2013.

<sup>66</sup> Quotations around “politischen Korrektheit” appear in source.

of refugees and immigrants and state that they will only help refugees if they return to their homelands once the reason for leaving has subsided. Rather than welcoming refugees into Germany for life, the AfD proposes sending them back to rebuild their home countries and to protect European culture in Germany. Closure of outer EU borders, setting up camps in safe states, and putting money towards fixing the source problems are other solutions offered in the manifesto. Essentially, the AfD is willing to agree to many measures that keep the refugees out of Germany.

Throughout this manifesto sample, several different metaphors appear prominently, including those of monolithization and nature, those related to crime or danger, those that are spatially oriented, and those related to the body politic. Much of the crime or danger rhetoric appears on the first page, with the opening points about free speech. The AfD describes the lack of free speech in Germany as “*ein ideologisch vergiftetes Klima*” (ideologically poisoned climate) of “*Sprachverbote*” (language prohibitions). “Poison,” the metaphor of a potentially lethal substance, sets the stakes for the view that the mainstream immigration rhetoric is poisoning society, and “prohibitions” implies illegality, which, here, AfD does not agree with. The nouns “*Verstöße*” (violations), “*Fehlentwicklungen*” (aberration), “*Pauschalverdächtigungen*” (over-all suspicions), and “*Angst*” (fear) invoke this sense of criminality, danger, and fear. The usage of these terms in the beginning section sets the tone of negative connotations related to immigration. This rhetoric shows up throughout the section with the nomination and predication of “*Gefahren*” (dangers), “*illegale*” (illegal), and “*unkontrollierten*” (uncontrolled), all used to describe the actions and consequences of immigrants.

Throughout the data in this paper, we see a repeated usage of monolithization or exaggerations, and the AfD manifesto is no exception, choosing to describe the immigrants as

“*Masseneinwanderung*” (mass immigration), “*historischen Ausmaßes*” (historical magnitude), and “*Massenmigrationen*” (mass migration) for good measure. “*Massenhaft*” (plentiful) is also used to describe the mistakes made by the government. This dual usage ties the government and the immigrants together rhetorically, emphasizing the lack of respect the AfD has for either one. By downplaying the individuality of both migrants and political actors, they can minimize their importance as individuals with stories, opinions, and actions, to describe them as simply one large threat. The repetition of these terms dehumanizes the refugees and escalates the situation in the eyes of the manifesto’s audience.

Nature metaphors make a small appearance in the manifesto as well, in the use of “*Erlöschens*” (extinction) to describe what will happen to European culture. Extinction is a process inherently associated with the natural world, as we witness the extinction of species, and this metaphor for the loss of culture associates the situation with death, therefore making it more of a drastic problem. The AfD makes it clear to their readers what the stakes are in this situation by tying culture to the natural concept of extinction. We are also confronted with the use of “Bruch” (breach) in regards to the Dublin Regulations<sup>67</sup>. While “breach” can be a common legal term, it is also used to represent fractures, breaks, or cracks in geological contexts, giving a physical sense to an abstract legal concept. Anyone can visualize a fracture or break in nature, like broken branches or fractured rock, and this physicality brings the abstract “breach” to a level that any reader could understand. In nature, breaches are generally undesirable, and this undesirability is transferred to the actions of the government in “breaching” the Dublin Regulations.

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<sup>67</sup> For more information on the Dublin Regulations, see “Country Responsible for Asylum Application (Dublin)” *Migration and Home Affairs*, European Commission. [https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/examination-of-applicants\\_en](https://ec.europa.eu/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/asylum/examination-of-applicants_en)

Movement and spatially oriented rhetoric appears throughout this section, mainly through the usage of “*in*”(in) and “*aus*” (out), such as “*aus Drittstaaten*” (out of third-world countries), “*in Richtung der wohlhabenden europäischen Staaten*” (towards the wealthy European states), “*aus diesen Regionen*” (out of these regions), “*in Deutschland*” (in Germany), “*aus anderen Kulture Weltteilen*” (out of other cultures and continents), “*im Inland*” (in the home country). This repeated theme creates a sense of uncertainty of placement and questioning where immigrants “should” be contrary to where they are. Other invocations of movement include “*verhindert*” (prevented), “*einwandern*” (to immigrate), “*EU-Personenfreizugigkeit*” (EU free movement of peoples), “*Grenzübergängen*” (border crossing), “*Vehikel*” (conduit), and “*Herkunft*” (origin). These words, while used in a political or legal sense, create imagery and associations of source locations, moving through space, and physical impediments. By offering these metaphors in conjunction with the monolithization metaphors discussed above, there is a sense of a visceral movement towards Germany. These usages clearly define spaces and delineate who belongs in which spaces, and give a clear sense to the intended audience of who should be in Germany and who should not.

The last main metaphorical usage in the manifesto appears in the form of the body politic. Body politic<sup>68</sup> is often used to describe the way nations or legal apparatuses are seen as a “body” or “an artificial person”. This metaphorical conceptualization makes interpersonal actions against the “body” possible. As we see in the rhetoric used here, there are repeated mentions of the “*Missbrauch*” (abuse) of the government of the immigration laws. “*Missbrauch*”, like the English “abuse”, holds the double-translation of both a corruption of political power, yet also an interaction people. By using this term, the AfD is feeding into the metaphor of the nation as a body. This

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<sup>68</sup> "Body politic." A Law Dictionary, Adapted to the Constitution and Laws of the United States. By John Bouvier. 1856. <https://legal-dictionary.thefreedictionary.com/Body+politic>

usage brings the issue of immigration to a personal level, as the interpersonal action of abuse in general appears in private homes, such as child abuse or domestic violence, and this interpersonal connection may lead to the immigration issues resonating more with individuals.

Overall, the metaphorical usages in the manifesto, through their spatial delineation, dehumanization, and negative connotations, elevate immigration to a societal problem. Those sure of their opinions in favor of immigration could read this and feel unsure by the end, and those against immigration may feel their views are validated. Through their manifesto, the AfD sets the tone for more rhetoric to follow.

#### *Twitter Data: Opening of Borders*

In 2015, when Angela Merkel declared that Germany would open its borders and begin accepting migrants, AfD did not yet sit in the German Bundestag. Through the analysis of the party manifesto, we can infer that this policy did not align with the AfD's goals. This becomes even clearer through an investigation of the party's tweets. In order to analyze the rhetoric surrounding this event, I have looked at Tweets during the designated one-month time period from the official @AfD account, as well as from the account of Frauke Petry, who was the party's speaker at this time. Like with the CDU, I have included replies to these Tweets, regardless of what ideology they seem to follow, as their responses are part of the broader discourse environment.

Compared to the CDU, the AfD does not wish to welcome refugees, and that is quite clear from the rhetoric from the opening of the borders through New Year's Eve. The rhetoric in this section



has negative connotations through many themes we have already seen, such as criminality, quantity, and nature, as well as some new ones, like games and possession.

As seen in the manifesto, criminality arises in the metaphors used throughout the Tweets, not only in regard to immigrants, but also in regard to politicians. There is a direct mention of “*Kriminalität*” (criminality), as well as the “*Gefährliche Spirale*” (dangerous spiral), which invokes both crime and danger and a movement metaphor. One somewhat forward-looking reply even mentions the possibility of immigrants being “*Vergewaltigt in Asyl-Heimen*” (raped in asylum homes) before the issue of sexual assault comes into the picture in a major way. These usages help to paint refugees as criminals. As for politicians, they are portrayed here through metaphors that emphasize elitism and perhaps white-collar criminality. Angela Merkel is described as a “*Lügenbaronin*” (lying baroness), associating her with nobility rather than a democratic electoral system. AfD also quotes „*Der Stern der Angela #Merkel beginnt völlig zu Recht zu sinken*“ (The star of Angela #Merkel rightly begins to sink). Here, they have used a metaphor of Angela Merkel as a star, in an idiom that means her fortune is coming to an end. By saying she is “*sinken*” (sinking), they also portray how she is coming down from a physically higher place, a kind of spatial metaphor we might associate with a monarch falling down from power. In continuing with the rhetoric of monarchy and elitism, the European Union is described as a “*Club der Oligarchen*” (club of oligarchs). An oligarchy, where power rests with only a small number of people, is used metaphorically, as the EU does not have an oligarchical system. These metaphors help to distance the German government from the average German citizen, even though Germany is a democratic country with elected representatives. The AfD wants to characterize the majority parties as out-of-touch, perpetuating the “criminality” of immigration with no regard for their citizens (or “subjects”, if they wanted to extend the metaphor further).

Two new trends we see arise in the Twitter data here are games and possession. According to Lakoff and Johnson<sup>69</sup>, sports and games are common metaphors for competition. Here, it appears in AfD's demand for the CDU to lay "*Karten auf den Tisch*" (cards on the table), a reference to the end of a game of poker. They also accuse the government, especially the CDU and Merkel, of "*hintergehen*" (cheating) as well as "*setzt die Einheit der EU aufs Spiel*" (gambling with EU unity). "*Aufs Spiel*" as "gambling," a gaming format with often negative connotations, characterizes Merkel as making risky choices, possibly without payoff. By associating the CDU with games, the AfD also trivializes the actions the CDU is taking and more easily calls them out.

Possession – delineation of "mine" and "yours" – echoes the earlier ideas of "in" and "out" by creating metaphorical borders. The citizens of Germany are described as "*ihr Volk*" (her [Germany's] people). This implies that the immigrants, those who are not "her people", do not belong in Germany. There is also a denial of possession through the hashtag "*#NichtMeinLand*" (#notmycountry). This phrase gained traction after Angela Merkel used it in a speech: "*Wenn wir uns jetzt noch entschuldigen müssen dafür, dass wir in Notsituationen ein freundliches Gesicht zeigen, dann ist das nicht mein Land.*" (If we still have to apologize for showing a friendly face in emergency situations, then this is not my country.)<sup>70</sup> CDU politicians and others used this to emphasize things that they did agree with in helping immigrants, with the hashtag "*#DasIstMeinLand*" as can be seen in some of my collected data for Peter Tauber, mentioned in Chapter 1. However, AfD politicians and followers took the original saying, "*Nicht mein land*" (not my country) and used it to critique Merkel's meaning. "*Nicht mein Land*," instead, means that the country is not theirs because of how Merkel is running it. This twisted possession rhetoric,

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<sup>69</sup> Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*

<sup>70</sup> "Angela Merkel - "Dann ist das nicht mein Land"" *Welt*, Youtube, 15 Sept. 2015.  
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=G9BSD7anl6s>

occurring throughout the various immigration discourse environments, warps opinions and shifts responsibility. If something isn't "yours," then you are not responsible for it, and AfD seems to think Merkel refuses to take responsibility.

Like in each discourse environment and section, at least a handful of nature metaphors are present as well. For the AfD, refugees "*strömen*" (to flow) into Germany as an "*Asylflut*" (asylum flood), because they've been "*entwurzelt*" (uprooted) from their homes. The water metaphors are mixed with the roots metaphor to reinforce refugees as part of nature.

With these various different metaphors used to describe not only refugees, but also politicians, it is clear that metaphors are a powerful and frequently employed rhetorical device of the AfD.

#### *Twitter Data: New Year's Eve*

Following New Year's Eve, the data shows that AfD did not go through any major change in rhetoric. Their negative tone continued, though it became slightly more amplified; for example, nature metaphors have evolved into natural disaster metaphors. AfD brings out a diversity of opinion in responses, and we see many agreeing with and echoing their rhetoric, as well as many responders questioning it, as can be seen in the Appendix data sheet. Nature and threat are a few of the themes in this data.

With the amplification of nature rhetoric, we see multiple references to climate change – surprising for a party that has been labelled as climate change deniers.<sup>71</sup> They argue that we „zum einem drastischen Klimawechsel in Deutschland kommen,“ (We are coming to a drastic change in the climate of Germany). While „Klimawechsel“ has different connotations than „Klimawandel“ their similarities in the usage of “Klima” (climate) stand out. AfD means that the refugees will change the climate or social make-up of Germany, and usage of the word “drastisch” (drastic) elevates that change to one of fear. This metaphor, being similar to the one for climate change, also serves to appeal to those who may not typically resonate with AfD’s discourse. In a separate Tweet, with the a link to an article proclaiming that both immigrants and climate change are the greatest risks to the world, Frauke Petry Tweeted “*Flüchtlinge gelten als größtes Risiko für die Welt... Klimawandel?*” (Refugees are considered the greatest risk to the world...climate change?). This shows that while they are agreeing with the proclamation of refugees as “the greatest risk,” they do not agree with climate change as being a risk, or the comparison of refugees to climate change. Though there is this conflict of equating refugees to climate change, it is still pertinent that the discussion is happening, as many on the liberal side of the political spectrum may argue that climate change, and not refugees, is the largest risk to the world. We also see an extended metaphor related to water, one of the more prevalent subsets of nature metaphors, in „Anstatt bei einer Überschwemmung den Wasserhahn zuzudrehen, öffnen wir die Türen in der Hoffnung das Wasser läuft schneller ab.“ (Instead of turning off the tap in the event of a flood, we open the doors hoping the water will drain faster.) Here, instead of simply comparing the refugees to a flood, we see the engagement of agency in the metaphor of “turning off the tap” and “open the doors.” This changes

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<sup>71</sup> Pötter, Bernhard. “Germany has an unholy new alliance: climate denial and the far right” *The Guardian*, 18 March 2020. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/commentisfree/2020/mar/18/climate-change-denial-germany-far-right-afd>

the narrative of the refugees-as-water, because instead of a natural source of water – like “*Tsunami*” used in this section – it is a source of water that comes from people’s choices. AfD is implicating the government, but also “*wir*” (we) as a greater entity of Germany that in some way includes AfD, as those who have caused the refugee problems.

One other interesting use of the water metaphors comes in the quote “*Es handelt sich um MIGRANTENWELLEN, die #Merkel eingeladen hat. Flüchtlinge wären handhabbare, kleinere Untermenge*“. (It is MIGRANT WAVES that #Merkel has invited. Refugees would be a manageable, smaller subset.) In this quote, the responder is not only referring to migrants as a “wave”, but also blatantly refusing to refer to them as “refugees.” This is purposefully and clearly dehumanizing. Much of the metaphor use throughout this discourse environment seems to use dehumanization by comparing refugees to non-human objects, such as those of the natural world, but few examples so clearly refute their existence as humans.

Threat metaphors in this section are common, though three subsets stand out: the bogeyman, the battle, and the loss of power. First, the threat of the “bogeyman” comes out in the characterization of immigrants. A responder calls out Frauke Petry on racism, saying “*Sobald die Täter nicht mehr aus dem persöнал Umfeld kommen, sondern der böse schwarze Mann sind, sorgen Sie sich um Sexismus?!“* (You only worry about sexism when the perpetrators are no longer from your own personal environment and are rather the bad black man?!) While this person seems to be strongly disagreeing with Petry’s discourse, they highlight the imagery of perpetrators being refugees, and refugees being black men, as many migrants at this time were from northern Africa and the Middle East. This framing of the refugee perpetrators as the “bad black man” draws on old stereotypes and associations with the “bogeyman,” a spooky male figure who comes out to get you at night.

By invoking this metaphor, the responder highlights Petry's subconscious use of stereotype and racism in choosing perpetrators to blame, as she never seemed to speak against sexual assault before the perpetrators were refugees instead of German citizens.

Threat is also present in the loss of power metaphor, when AfD declares "*Wir sind nicht mehr Herr im eigenen Land!*" (We are no longer the ruler of our own country!). This shows that AfD conceptualizes themselves – and their view of German citizens – as the rulers, despite that Germany, as mentioned earlier, is a democratic country. By stating this with the influx of refugees, it can be assumed that their metaphorical power imbalance is caused by an increase in those with minority backgrounds instead of those most stereotypically "German." This question of who is German has been a hot topic in the country in recent years, and is an issue that could draw in any audience who thinks there is only one type of "German." Similarly, battle rhetoric arises in one responder's call to "*Kämpft weiter fürs Deutsche Volk! Danke!*" (Keep fighting for the German people! Thank you!) By asking them to fight, there is an implication that the refugee crisis is a battle.

While there are more metaphors to be drawn out of this section, especially those of movement, spatiality, and borders, the examples here show the amplification occurring in AfD's metaphor usage between the Opening of Borders Rhetoric and the New Year's Eve rhetoric.

## Conclusions

AfD has perhaps the most frequent and most diverse usage of metaphors compared to the CDU and Pegida. While the CDU shows their dramatic shift from welcoming to fearing, and AfD stays

consistent in messaging, the AfD does employ many different types of metaphors, from nature to battle, from body to spatiality, and from games to possession. This wide array does tend to show dehumanizing tendencies, both implicitly and explicitly.

This dehumanization has led several responders to make comparisons between AfD and the National Socialists, such as in reference to AfD's commendation of Austria for immigration policies. This commendation warranted the sarcastic response: „*Die Geschichte hat uns ja gelehrt, dass die Österreicher immer die geilsten politischen Ideen haben!*“ (History has showed us that Austrians always have the best political ideas!) This is a reference to Adolf Hitler's origin of Austria. The writer is using sarcasm to mean that Hitler did *not* have the best ideas. Another responder refers to AfD as „*Die Nazijacke haben Sie sich selbst angezogen. Wer weiß warum?*“ (You put the Nazi Jacket on yourself. Who knows why?) By saying they wear the “Nazi Jacket,” it is akin to saying they act like Nazis. Metaphorically when you put on someone else's close or walk in their shoes, you become them and you understand them. The AfD does not receive as many of these accusations as Pegida does, at least in this sampling, as we will see in Chapter 3.

AfD's consistent messaging of negative views on immigrants and the German government is mainly expressed through the coded language of metaphors. These coded metaphors position it clearly as a far-right discourse. Were their language less coded, they might, like Pegida, be more akin to the National Socialist discourse as well.

Table 2.1 – AfD “Open Borders” Discursive Strategies Analysis

	Refugees/ Immigration	Germans/Germany	Politicians	The Border
<i>Nomination Strategies</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Chaos*</li> <li>-Flüchtlingen</li> <li>-Asylsuchenden</li> <li>-Vogel-Strauß-Politik</li> <li>-Asylmissbrauch</li> <li>-Geringqualifizierte</li> <li>-Apokalypse*</li> <li>-Krise</li> <li>-Flut*</li> <li>-Invasion</li> <li>-Milliarden</li> <li>-Unrecht (wrong)</li> <li>-Kriegsflüchtlinge</li> <li>-Massen</li> <li>-Missbrauch*</li> <li>-Islamisierung Deutschlands</li> <li>-Kriminalität</li> <li>-Gefährliche Spirale</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Das Volk</li> <li>-Mitschuld</li> <li>-#NichtMeinLand</li> <li>-Ihr Volk</li> <li>-Vielvölkerstaat</li> <li>-Minderheit</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Merkel:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-als Schiff: <i>Stern beginnt zu sinken</i></li> <li>- Lügenbaronin</li> </ul> </li> <li>-AfD:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-„preisgesenkten Nazis“* (price-reduced Nazis)</li> <li>-völkischen Abgründe</li> </ul> </li> <li>-EU:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Club der Oligarchen</li> </ul> </li> <li>-Schweinesystem</li> </ul>	-Sicherung
<i>Predication Strategies</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-steigende Zahl</li> <li>-chaotisch</li> <li>-kurzfristig &amp; langfristig</li> <li>-Unter falschem Vorwand</li> <li>-Mehr</li> <li>-Strömen</li> <li>-Droht die Arbeitslosigkeit</li> <li>-Ungarn setzt Tränengas gegen</li> <li>-Not welcome</li> <li>-Entwurzelt</li> <li>-Verschaukelt</li> <li>-Wurden beklatscht und bejubelt</li> <li>-Vergewaltigt in Asyl-Heimen</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-definiert Nation neu</li> <li>-stehen vor großen Herausforderungen</li> <li>-setzt sich nur mit den Nebenwirkungen</li> <li>-Wollen Ihr Volk abschaffen</li> <li>-Zerfällt</li> <li>-Hatten Befürchtungen</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Karten auf den Tisch</li> <li>-Hintergeht</li> <li>-setzt die Einheit der EU aufs Spiel</li> <li>-verdrängt Realität</li> <li>-begeht Verfassungsbruch</li> <li>-streut Sand in die Augen*</li> <li>-unredlich</li> <li>-fahrlässig</li> <li>-ausverkauft deutscher Interessen</li> <li>-keine Verantwortung übernehmen</li> <li>-Merkel:               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-hat den Krieg nach</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	-Sofortig sichert



-Die Mehrheit der Deutschen sie nicht hier will -Nicht zahlen		Deutschland geholt -beschimpft das Volk -AfD: -ausgedünnte -soviel Honig saugen aus dieser Situation	
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\* Terms that appear in similar forms more than once are designated with a star; Terms that come from the official Tweets are in black, terms that come from replies are listed in blue.

**Table 2.2 – AfD “NYE” Strategies Analysis**

	Refugees/Immigration	Germans/Germany	Politicians	The Border
<i>Nomination Strategies</i>	-Chaos* -Islamisten -Größtes Risiko* -Wellen** -3.000 pro tag -Einwanderer/ Zuwanderung -Straftaten* -Pack -Krise -Völkerwanderung -Islam-Schurken -Masse -Täter -Mann -Überschwemmung ohne globale Erwärmung -zum einem drastischen Klimawechsel in Deutschland kommen -größte Gefahr für den Weltfrieden -Tsunami	-Opfern* -Nicht mehr Herr im eigenen Land -Volk* -Das Land der Terror-Schläfer -Unser Vaterland	-Wattestäbchen -Verbrecher -Petry: Hinterfrau der sexuellen Übergriffe von KölnHbF -AfD: Hatefuckern und Sexisten -Merkel: USA Puffmutter	-Unserer Landesgrenzen

*Predication  
Strategies*

-Drastisch Gestiegen Strafanzeigen -Wurden ins Land locken -Überhaupt kein Ende in Sicht -Wer ist eigentlich Flüchtling? -Chaotisch -Illegal -Mehr als 200 verklagen den Bund -Österreich lässt Flüchtlinge schießen -Weiterbringen werden -Heutiger Wohlstand basiert auf Migration -Böse, schwarze -Alle raus -Merkel's Verharmlosung in den Medien -der, der aus Politischer Verfolgung flieht, oder „nur“ aus Verfolgung bzw. Krieg	-Wurden eine Stimme geben -Kann man so leicht rein und raus -Brauchen neuen Wind -Etwas komisch, wer die Wahrheit sagt, wird diffamiert und beschimpft -Heillos überfordert -Steht hinter Frau Petry & AfD	-Merkel: angezählt, muss weg* -Boykottieren -Soll Sicherheit und Ordnung in Deutschland herstellen -Heiko Maas: verbinden mit Kölner Übergriffe -AfD: kämpft weiter fürs Deutsche Volk -Rausschmeisst aus Berlin bei der nächsten Wahl Korruptiert -Deppen -AfD: verstehen nicht -AfD: diffamiert und beschimpft -Merkel: trägt an Mitschuld Bundesregierung -setzt vor die Tür -Fr. Petry: haben sich selbst die Nazijacke angezogen	-Was die AfD bereits seit Monaten fordert -Schließen -Soll Souveränität haben -Dänmark führt - Kontrollen an Grenze zu Deutschland ein -Grenzenlose Dummheit -Nur minimal größer als die Dänische -Verantwortungslos dass es keine Grenzkontrollen gibt
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## **Chapter 3 – Patriotische Europäer Gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlands**

### **(PEGIDA)**

The *Patriotische Europäer Gegen die Islamisierung des Abendlands* (Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamization of the Occident), better known by the acronym Pegida, was founded in October 2014.<sup>72</sup> A German businessman and later Chairman of Pegida, Lutz Bachmann, launched the group as a Dresden-based Facebook page to protest plans to add refugee centers to the city. Though Pegida's first demonstration on October 20<sup>th</sup>, 2014 was small, two months later, what became a weekly Monday protest regularly attracted 10,000 participants<sup>73</sup>. Pegida, often described in mainstream media as far right and anti-immigrant, casts the Islamic religion as misogynist and violent. While some Pegida members claim to reject violence as a legitimate political action, the party has welcomed more radical, self-labelled Neo-Nazi groups to join its ranks.<sup>74</sup> According to a survey, Pegida has a variety of political views within its ranks, with 86% of all surveyed AfD members and 54% of all CDU members supporting their initial platform. 43% of all Germans participating in the survey thought that Pegida protesters are mainly concerned about the "spread of Islam," but 33% believed that mainly right-wing extremists attend their demonstrations<sup>75</sup>.

Pegida has offshoots in other parts of Germany and the world. Its membership and activity seemed to have peaked in 2015, at the height of Germany's immigration debate. The group filed for the

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<sup>72</sup> For deeper analysis of how Pegida came to exist, see Dostal, Jörg Michael. "The Pegida Movement and German Political Culture: Is Right-Wing Populism Here to Stay?" *The Political Quarterly*, vol. 86, no. 4, 2015. Pg. 523-531. <https://nbn-resolving.org/urn:nbn:de:0168-ssoar-55598-0>

<sup>73</sup> Connolly, Kate. "Estimated 15,000 people join 'pinstriped Nazis' on march in Dresden" *The Guardian*, 15 Dec. 2014. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/dec/15/dresden-police-pegida-germany-far-right>

<sup>74</sup> Pfeifer, Hans. "PEGIDA, neo-Nazis, and organized rage," *Deutsche Welle*, 25 Jan. 2015. <https://www.dw.com/en/pegida-neo-nazis-and-organized-rage/a-18212964>

<sup>75</sup> "N24-Emnid-Umfrage zu PEGIDA und Asyl" *WELT*, 11 Dec. 2014. <https://www.presseportal.de/pm/13399/2903923>

status of a non-profit organization in Germany, but instead of emerging as a full-blown political party, it has primarily tied itself to the AfD during elections. Pegida exists mainly to demonstrate against immigration, specifically of Muslims. On September 10<sup>th</sup>, 2015, shortly after Merkel opened the borders, Pegida famously demanded 10 changes in refugee politics, calling for an immediate stop of asylum seekers and for a German 'asylum-emergency law'.<sup>76</sup>

While Pegida continues to deny accusations that they support violence or far-right ideologies, German politicians, including the Interior Minister and CDU member Thomas de Maizière, claim that “There’s no more question about whether those who organize [the PEGIDA protests] are hardcore right-wing extremists. They condemn all asylum seekers as criminals, and all politicians as traitors.”<sup>77</sup> Pegida’s leader, Lutz Bachmann, was found guilty of instigating hatred in 2016<sup>78</sup>. While immigration in Germany has tapered off<sup>79</sup>, Pegida continues to hold rallies in Dresden and remains speculatively connected to violence against immigrants.

This chapter examines Pegida’s immigration rhetoric, beginning with an analysis of the group’s *Dresdner Thesen* to establish its official stance on immigration. Next, this chapter analyzes a selection of Tweets from the @OFFICIAL\_PEGIDA Twitter account and responses to that

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<sup>76</sup> Some authors speculate that Pegida’s hatred for immigrants stems from its former-East German origin, where a Communist background made people wary of foreigners, as well as discontent with a lack of Eastern integration after the reunification, causing people to feel their government cares more about immigrants than their own Eastern citizens. See Kirschbaum, Erik. “Germany still has an East-West divide — but now it’s about attitudes toward refugees” *Los Angeles Times*, 17 Sept. 2018. <https://www.latimes.com/world/la-fg-east-west-germany-refugees-20180917-story.html>

<sup>77</sup> Delcker, Janosch. „German anti-refugee movement sparks fears,” *Politico*, 19 Oct. 2015. <https://www.politico.eu/article/asylum-pegida-refugees-far-right-protest-seekers-as-criminals-politicians-as-traitors/>

<sup>78</sup> Brady, Kate. „PEGIDA founder Lutz Bachmann found guilty of inciting hatred” *Deutsche Welle*, 3 May 2016. <https://www.dw.com/en/pegida-founder-lutz-bachmann-found-guilty-of-inciting-hatred/a-19232497>

<sup>79</sup> “Sharp drop in migrant arrivals in Germany,” *Deutsche Welle*, 11 Jan. 2017. <https://www.dw.com/en/sharp-drop-in-migrant-arrivals-in-germany/a-37087543>

account to uncover the rhetoric following the 2015 opening of borders and subsequent New Year's Eve attacks in Cologne.

## Rhetoric Data & Analysis

### *Party Platform*

Pegida's initial platform was published as a *Positionspaper* in December 2014, but it was rewritten into the current *Dresdner Thesen* in February 2015. The document, only one page long, includes a brief introduction and ten listed demands revolving completely around immigration issues. Accordingly, I chose to analyze the document in whole, instead of only working on an excerpt, as with the CDU and AfD party platform documents. The title of the Pegida document situates it firmly with a Dresden origin, yet the use of "*Thesen*" invokes the sense of Martin Luther's 95 *Thesen*<sup>80</sup> (Theses), giving a religiosity to this platform. In the opening sentence, Pegida establishes itself as a "*politische Bewegung*" (political movement) that is "*ideologiefrei*" (free from ideology). By stating this, the group means to distance itself from other political parties. Their language comes across as relatively ideologically neutral, with few opinions a liberal-minded person might find problematic. In fact, Pegida even states that "*eine friedliche Zusammenarbeit und Koexistenz aller souveräner Nationen weltweit ist die Grundlage einer sicheren Zukunft für uns alle.*" (A peaceful cooperation and coexistence of all sovereign nations worldwide is the foundation of a secure future for everyone). The *Thesen* seem non-inflammatory, and they do not align with the rhetoric that members use online, as we will see later.

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<sup>80</sup> "Martin Luther and the 95 Theses" *History*, accessed 14 April 2020.  
<https://www.history.com/topics/reformation/martin-luther-and-the-95-theses>

Metaphors are expressed the themes of battle, emergency, and reconstruction. Pegida uses language to create a narrative of a crumbling world that needs to be created anew, using battle metaphors such as “*aufgreift*” (to take on) the social problems. They are fighting for the “*Schutz*” (protection) and “*Erhalt*” (preservation) of their culture and to end “*Kriegstreiberei*” (warmongering) with Russia.

Adjectives like “*dringend*” (urgent) and “*schlechteren*” (worsening), as well as verbs meant to connote the horrible conditions, emphasize the supposed state of emergency in Germany. The middle class will “*verarmen*” (become poor), Parallel societies will “*beunruhigen*” (harass) the people, and free-trade agreements will “*schädigen*” (damage) European independence. These metaphorical choices are undergirded by the conciseness of the *Thesen*, further emphasizing the urgency of PEGIDA’s worries.

However, Germans shouldn’t fear, because Pegida has a plan to reconstruct Germany and achieve the “*Grundlage*” (foundation) of a safe future. Through the “*Schaffung*”(establishment) and “*Einführung*”(introduction) of immigration laws and federal referendums, Pegida can “*installieren*” (install) a second “*Standbein*” (main pillar) of democracy. The sense of everything starting new, and the physicality of “*installieren*” can appeal to those who have become disillusioned with the current political system. It also portrays that Pegida is ready to start from the ground up, instead of compromising or building off the systems that already exist.

While the concepts presented in the *Thesen* walk the line of abstract and concrete, they do leave enough room that any reader might be able to relate to them. The metaphors used have not been present in other discourse environments in this paper, and we will find that they do not continue

throughout the rest of Pegida's discourse environment. This rhetoric both defies expectations and sets Pegida up with an ideologically-free platform that it ultimately fails to uphold.

### *Twitter<sup>81</sup> Data: Opening of Borders*

The Pegida Twitter account was not extremely active during the Opening of Borders timeframe, and due to group members' anonymity or lack of Twitter use, I did not supplement with Tweets from another account, as I did with CDU and AfD. However, there are several notable metaphors and rhetorical devices that we have seen already in various discourse environments, including nature, battle, and monolithization.

The ideas of nature and catastrophe are tied together through the invocation of a singular narrative: the sinking of the Titanic<sup>82</sup>. Just one day after the opening of Germany's borders, Pegida Tweeted an image with the following quote:

*Die meisten Menschen sehen nur die Spitze des Eisberges. Nur wenige, die etwas tiefer tauchen, sehen, dass der Eisberg größer ist, als vermutet. Aber nur diejenigen, die richtig tief tauchen, wie alle Teilnehmer bei PEGIDA, erkennen, wie groß die Gefahr wirklich ist. Und die Regierung hält mit Volldampf auf den Eisberg zu, die Kapelle spielt weiter und die Naivmenschen singen und klatschen dazu.*

*Most people only see the tip of the iceberg. Only a few who dive a little deeper see that the iceberg is larger than assumed. But only those who dive really deep, like all participants at PEGIDA, recognize how great the danger really is. And the government*

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<sup>81</sup> Contrary to CDU and AfD, Pegida proved harder to track down on Twitter, possibly due to most of their communication taking place on Facebook. I used the account @OFFICIAL\_PEGIDA, despite that it is not authenticated, as I determined this Twitter account was linked to their Facebook page – they often Tweet links to the Facebook posts. I do not know which individual(s) run the Twitter or Facebook accounts.

<sup>82</sup> When not familiar with the events of the sinking of the Titanic, see "Titanic", *History*, accessed 10 April 2020. <https://www.history.com/topics/early-20th-century-us/titanic>

*is going full steam ahead to the iceberg, the band continues to play and the naïve people sing and clap.*

To begin with, the usage of “*Eisberg*” (iceberg) refers to the immigration situation or even immigrants themselves. As we have seen in earlier chapters, this natural disaster rhetoric tends to contribute to dehumanization as well as fear. Humans are taught to be afraid of natural disasters and to avoid them, which transfers here to: immigrants should be avoided. Icebergs also symbolize a cold environment incompatible with humans. Icebergs certainly do not belong in Germany – and therefore, neither do refugees.

By invoking the metaphor of “*tiefer tauchen*” (dive deeper), Pegida claims to know more about the situation, as we metaphorically associate “deepness” with knowledge, whereas shallow water is associated with a lack thereof. They describe the “*Gefahr*”(danger) of the iceberg, which we can take to mean the danger they believe immigrants will cause to Germany.

Though Pegida never mentions the Titanic by name, the quote “*Und die Regierung hält mit Volldampf auf den Eisberg zu*” (And the government is going full steam ahead to the iceberg) portrays the government as the famous ship. This metaphor is carried through “*die Kapelle spielt weiter und die Naivmenschen singen und klatschen dazu*” (the band plays on and the naïve people sing and clap along). The Titanic is well known for its band playing even as the ship began to sink. “Naivety” comes into play through naming the ship “unsinkable” despite that it did end up sinking. This is linked to the German government’s naivety in allowing immigrants into the country. This extended metaphor portrays Pegida as the singular, wise entity that can prevent the ship of Germany from sinking under the influx of immigrants, while the immigrants are dehumanized and the government is degraded.



Another extended metaphor in this section, though a bit more coded, comes out of the following:

*Widerstand gegen eine Völkerwanderung ist ein legitimer Akt der Selbsterhaltung. Linke Naivmenschen beklagen stets die Vernichtung von Kulturen und Zivilisationen in der Vergangenheit, aber sind unfähig oder nicht willens, einen Transfer der Erfahrungen aus der Geschichte auf die Gegenwart zu leisten.*

*Resisting migration is a legitimate act of self-preservation. Leftist naive people always complain about the annihilation of cultures and civilizations in the past, but are unable or unwilling to transfer experiences from history to the present.*

Here, metaphorical battle language is used to pit Pegida against migrants, as well as against “leftist naïve people.” The “*Widerstand*” (resistance) is important for “*Selbsterhaltung*”(self-preservation), much as a military commander might instruct their troops. By referencing the “*Vernichtung*” (annihilation) of other cultures, Pegida raises the stakes in their metaphorical battle. Instead of simply a loss to recover from, “annihilation” portrays a result of total destruction. These metaphors are used similarly to those in the party platform, continuing the theme of immigration as the enemy.

As previously seen previously in Chapters 1 and 2, as well as through the usage of a singular “*Eisberg*” to describe all immigrants, monolithization appears again in this section. Refugees are described as “*Massen*” (masses) and “*Zuzug*” (influx). Instead of individuality, they are lumped together under singular terms that have negative connotations, further contributing to fear in the eyes of the reader. “*Zuzug*”(influx) brings us again to the question of spatial metaphors, describing the refugees as something that is moving *into* Germany. More of this rhetoric will be uncovered in the New Year’s Eve section.

Nature appears again in the description of the *Bundeswehr*, Germany’s military, as “*ein absolut Schweinerei*” (an absolute pigsty). In this case, the German military – affiliated with the federal

government, which it becomes clear Pegida is not fond of – appears to be compared to what some may consider dirty animals. Pigsties are generally regarded as quite sloppy, muddy places that humans do not want to be, showing Pegida’s disdain for the military. Pegida seems to have staked itself as a fighting force, yet not one that hopes to collaborate with the establishment, as they describe facets of the German government as both a pigsty and a doomed ship.

Despite relatively little content surrounding the Opening of Borders on Pegida’s Twitter account, it’s clear to see that their metaphors tend to create an overarching narrative, with extended metaphors defining immigrants as threats or enemies and Pegida as the one fighting for Germany, because the “naïve” government cannot.

#### *Twitter Data: New Year’s Eve*

Following the New Year’s Eve attacks in Germany, Pegida and their responders became much more active on Twitter. The metaphors become more diverse in this sampling as well, encompassing health, physical distance, and of course, nature.

Illness and health metaphors, not seen elsewhere in the discourse analyzed in this research, tend to arouse suspicion when used within politics. Andreas Musolff claims “Illness and health metaphors...seem to ‘lend themselves’ to being employed in texts excusing or disguising brutal extermination policies as *effective healing methods*.” He names the Nazi’s use of such metaphors to legitimize the holocaust as a notorious example.<sup>83</sup> But such metaphors persist today. For

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<sup>83</sup> Musolff, Andreas. “Ideological functions of metaphor: the conceptual metaphors of health and illness in public discourse” in *Cognitive Models in Language and Thought: Cognitive Linguistics Research [CLR]* Vol. 24, 2012. Page 328

instance, Pegida's quote of Poland's response to EU criticism<sup>84</sup> saying "*Wir wollen unseren Staat lediglich heilen*" (We only want to heal our state). If one was keeping up with Polish politics at the time, one would understand that the "sickness" they felt they needed to heal was the influence of Marxist or leftist policies. However, it can also be inferred that Poland is against the multiculturalism that Europe moved towards with the diversity immigrants brought in, which is surely what Pegida would have agreed with. This sense of "healing" from liberal, multicultural policies retains echoes of the "healing" or "cleaning" done during the Holocaust, when it was code for genocide, as one astute responder mentions:

*Und Hitler wollte seinen Staat auch lediglich "säubern"*

*And Hitler also wanted to "clean" his state*

This is not the only reply within the discourse environment that likens rhetoric utilized by Pegida to that of Nazis, but it is one of the more potent ones<sup>85</sup>.

The health metaphor is extended through another reply proclaiming this decision is "*ungesund*" (unhealthy) for freedom of the press in Poland. This discussion of abstract political entities as being "healthy" or "sick" complicates perceptions of their problems, as one could read the metaphor of "illness" and expect the policy they are fixing is truly a problem, rather than a matter of ideology. This idea of politics as "healthy" also feeds into the body politic and rhetoric of abuse discussed in Chapter 2. Other uses of health metaphor arise in mocking Horst Seehofer, Minister President of Bavaria at the time and leader of CDU's partner the CSU, likely for his compromises

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<sup>84</sup> In the online newspaper linked in the Tweet, the full quote is: „*Wir wollen lediglich unseren Staat von einigen Krankheiten heilen, damit er wieder genesen kann*“ translated roughly as „We only want to heal our state from a sickness, so that it can again recover.“ The situation Poland was criticized on regarded changes to their constitutional court and concern for the rule of law.

<sup>85</sup> Although the quote comes from a Polish politician, I am considering it to be part of Pegida's discourse, as they have furthered the metaphor by Tweeting about it.

made with Merkel over the immigration crisis.<sup>86</sup> Pegida references “*Seehofer Beruhigungspillen*” (Seehofer sedation pills) and refers to him as “#PlaceboHorst”. Though the website link they include in the Tweet is now defunct, it can be assumed that they are referring to solutions that Seehofer has offered as merely a “placebo” for the real “illness,” that is, in Pegida’s view, the immigration of Muslims to Germany.

Pegida has a penchant for metaphors that invoke physicality, and the usage of distance is one further example of this. There are several references to “*eine armlänge Distanz*” (an armlength’s distance), a public safety recommendation from the mayor of Cologne.<sup>87</sup> While Pegida was far from the only group – conservative or liberal – to be upset by this recommendation, they interpreted it in a much more racist way than most. One example:

*„Eine Armlänge Distanz halten, schützt nicht vor sexuellen und sonstigen Übergriffen, eine Mittelmeerbreite dagegen schon!“*

*“Keeping an arm’s length away does not protect against sexual and other assaults, but a Mediterranean-width does!”*

Here, a “*Mittelmeerbreite*” (Mediterranean-width) is referring to the distance across the Mediterranean Sea, which many immigrants from the Middle East and Northern Africa had to cross to reach Europe and then Germany<sup>88</sup>. Pegida states that this is more protective than an “arm’s length distance” in order to push their agenda of stopping immigrants from entering Germany.

They continue to mock the mayor’s recommendation:

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<sup>86</sup> <https://www.reuters.com/article/us-europe-migrants-germany-idUSKBN0UH0FT20160103>

<sup>87</sup> <https://www.dw.com/en/twitter-storm-as-cologne-mayor-suggests-women-stay-at-arms-length-from-strangers/a-18962430>

<sup>88</sup> Something about immigrants having to cross the mediterranean

*„Gerüchten zufolge, wird die Polizei ihre Waffen abgeben. Eine Armlänge Distanz reicht zum Selbstschutz aus.“*

*Rumor has it that the police will surrender their weapons. An arm's length distance is enough for self-protection.*

Here, the „arm's length distance" is employed sarcastically, to reemphasize their point that it is not a worthwhile precaution. If it were, the police would also do it. Metaphors grounded in the physical world may be effective for a wider audience.



Figure 1

As with each discourse environment I have analyzed, nature appears again. Here, we see a handful of nature terms to refer to immigrants as “*die Lawine kommt ins Rollen*” (the avalanche is rolling) as well as “*Welle*” (wave). Both of these represent monolithization as well as nature metaphors, by diminishing the individuals down to a singular natural

occurrence. Both “*Lawine*” and “*Welle*” are commonly used terms in immigration discourse, as can be seen in each chapter’s Tables, but they have drawn backlash for their dehumanization, as we will see in the concluding chapter. Pegida also refers to the “*Wurzeln des Problem*” (roots of the problem) where the “problem” is the sexual assaults and the “roots”, or cause, is the migrants. By referring to migrants in this way, they can further perpetuate their program of trying to convince Germans of the problems migrants cause. Pegida also describes themselves through nature metaphors. One response included an image with the text “*der Fels in der Brandung PEGIDA + Bürgerbewegungen*” (the rock in the surf PEGIDA + citizen movements) overlaid on a picture of

a rock in the ocean, as seen in Figure 1. The image is used in support of a Tweet about Pegida's next protest march. In comparing Pegida to a "rock in the surf" it portrays the group as a strong entity, constantly fought against, yet still standing. It can be assumed that the "surf" is not only the government establishment and the immigrants, but also the groups who protest against Pegida.

## Conclusion

By looking at Pegida's rhetoric and the various metaphors it employs, it is safe to conclude that Pegida actively and indiscriminately employs dehumanizing tactics, as well as language meant to incite hatred. The "*ideologiefrei*" (ideologically free) intentions and battle metaphors were rendered moot in the discourse environments surrounding the opening of borders and the New Year's Eve sexual assaults.

Pegida seems to talk more about politicians than immigrants, as seen in Tables 3.1 and 3.2, as well as the appendix. This preoccupation with hatred of the political establishment may have been what led Pegida away from their goal of remaining ideologically neutral and pushed them towards the far-right. They do seem to reference Islam more than refugees generally, which does align with their initial goals, but they did not stop from employing some creative, yet terrible rhetoric in "Rapefugees," "Krimigrants" and "Sexjihad." Their disdain for Muslims, and thus many immigrants, takes over, and hate seems to be a more important theme in their rhetoric and metaphor usage than bettering Germany, contrary to what their party platform would have you believe. This rhetoric sets up Pegida as the bearers of the truth, while the government and immigrants are painted as undesirable.

The usage of battle metaphors, health metaphors, and nature metaphors are all reminiscent of National Socialist rhetoric, and Pegida does not help their case by repeatedly echoing “*Lügenpresse*” (lying press) when referring to the news media. “*Lügenpresse*” was a term that the National Socialist party used to discredit enemy news. Responses throughout the discourse environment call them out, asking sarcastically “*Lügenpresse....Haben die Retter des Abendlandes keine eigene Presse?*” (Lying press...Do the saviors of the West not have their own press?) Others refer to them as the „*Nazi Pest*“ and „*Pegidioten*”. With these trends, it becomes clear that Pegida’s active dehumanization follows in the footsteps of the Nazis who came before them.

**Table 3.1 – PEGIDA “Open Borders” Strategies Analysis**

	Refugees/Immigration	Germans/Germany	Politicians	The Border
<i>Nomination Strategies</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Eisberg</li> <li>-Gefahr</li> <li>-Kriminalität</li> <li>-Skklaven</li> <li>-Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge</li> <li>-Massen</li> <li>-Zuzug</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Patrioten/Patriots</li> <li>-Mehrheit</li> <li>-Gutmenschen</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Pegida: Nazis</li> <li>-Bundeswehr: eine absolute Schweinerei</li> </ul>	
<i>Predication Strategies</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Wahnsinn</li> <li>-sterben lassen</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-selbsterhalten</li> <li>-gegen den Zuzug der Asylanten</li> <li>-dummen</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Regierung: hält mit Volldampf</li> <li>-Pegida: vorbildlich</li> </ul>	-Sichern

Table 3.2 – PEGIDA “NYE” Strategies Analysis

	Refugees/Immigration	Germans/Germany	Politicians	The Border
<i>Nomination Strategies</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Muslimen</li> <li>-Barbarier</li> <li>-Rapefugees</li> <li>-Krimigranten*</li> <li>-Lawine</li> <li>-Afrikas Vergewaltiger</li> <li>-Terror</li> <li>-Asylmissbrauch</li> <li>-Welle</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Patrioten</li> <li>-Frauen: ersten Opfer</li> <li>-Gegen Pegida: dumme Kinder</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Seehofer: PlaceboHorst, SchaumschlägerHorst</li> <li>-Maas: Massmännchen*</li> <li>-CSU: nur heiße Luft</li> <li>-Pegida: die Retter des Abendlandes; Vollidioten; Pegidioten; die friedliche Stimme des Volkes; der Fels in der Brandung; verbitterte EX-DDRler</li> <li>-neunen Marionetten</li> </ul>	
<i>Predication Strategies</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-Muslimen: gefährlich</li> <li>-abgelehnte</li> <li>-rausgeworfen</li> <li>-aus Morokko und Algerien</li> <li>-übergreifen</li> <li>-frisch eingereiste</li> <li>-kommt ins Rollen</li> <li>-rausgeworfen</li> <li>-bunt und Islam</li> <li>-machen Urlaub</li> <li>-kommen</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-brauchen einen Brutus</li> <li>-Gegen Pegida: geistig arme, traurig</li> <li>-Frauen: missbraucht von Deutschen; um ihr Leben gelaufen</li> <li>-Deutschland: beherbergt Immigranten</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-ausgeburt kranker Hirne</li> <li>-verwenden die Gleichen politisch korrekten Textbausteine</li> <li>-wollten diesen Diskurs verhindern</li> <li>-unfähigen</li> <li>-Pegida: Verrohen der Sprache, spalten der Gesellschaft</li> <li>-Merkel: ist Schuld; soll austreten; muss Weg</li> <li>-krank</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>-dicht ist illegal</li> </ul>



## **Conclusion**

In examining each party's manifesto and Twitter data for the two events, it is clear that metaphors play an important role in the discourse, with a variety of uses and forms. While the CDU begins with positive metaphors associated with helping and welcome, their dehumanization comes in the form of characterizing refugees as helpless creatures. With the shift in rhetoric following the New Year's Eve attack, their threat and natural disaster metaphors set the stage for the more far-right discourse that follows from the AfD and Pegida. AfD has a variety of metaphor uses, especially in the concepts of spatially oriented metaphors, games, and white-collar crime metaphors to describe the government. AfD maintains their negative portrayal of both immigrants and the mainstream government, though it becomes slightly more amplified following New Year's Eve, with more vivid metaphors like floods and power, and even an outright claim that the "Migrant waves" are not people. Pegida follows AfD's rhetoric in a similar matter. Though their platform seems to suggest an ideologically-free discourse environment, their uses of battle metaphors, spatiality, and health suggest otherwise.

In all discourse environments, nature metaphors appear, through words such as "*Welle*"(wave), "*Flut*"(flood), "*Schnecken*"(snail) and "*Schwein*"(pig), among others. Nature metaphors are employed throughout each of the ideologies in this research, though sometimes appear to be well-meaning and other times are actively derogatory. Overall, it is possible to conclude, based on our Tables and Appendix, that this theme is the most prevalent in this discourse analysis. The usage of nature metaphors, as we noted in our historical background, has been used throughout history, and even throughout various cultures, to dehumanize an enemy. When you see your enemy as less than human, it is much easier to fight or kill them. When it comes to refugees in Germany, a

vulnerable group hoping for a better future, dehumanization through language can act as a pathway to oppression. We know this was true for the ways the National Socialists used language to dehumanize Jewish people and others, so it is possible this rhetoric could turn in a similar direction.

However, in our data sets, refugees were not the only ones dehumanized, and many individuals and government apparatuses were as well. This exposes a larger trend in dehumanization of those we disagree with. This trend is not only common among right-wing political parties, but left-wing or centrists as well. While this paper focuses on the three right-wing parties to provide a smaller framework for analyzing the discourse, nature metaphors have been actively used by outsiders, namely in the “*Schneegida*” (Snow-gida) Twitter trend of December-January 2014. In this trend, Twitter users satirized Pegida by playfully comparing their complaints about immigrants to complaints about snow, such as with “*Ich habe nichts gegen Schnee, solange er sich an unser Klima anpasst und Regen ist.*” (I have nothing against snow, as long as it adapts to our climate and is rain.) This is meant to play off of Pegida’s argument that there is nothing wrong with immigrants, as long as they adapt and are not Muslim, and this thought is continued with “*Ich bin gegen die Eislamisierung unserer Städte!*” (I am against the ice-lamization of our cities!). They also address Pegida’s more ideologically-neutral claims with “*Ich habe ja nichts gegen Schneeflocken, aber wenn sie so auf Plätzen und Straßen rumlungern, sind sie eine Gefahr für uns alle.*” (I have nothing against snowflakes, but if they hang around in squares and streets, they are a danger to all of us.)<sup>89</sup> This usage of nature metaphors to describe the anti-immigrant group shows us that these rhetorical device is not specific to only right-wing politics, but rather can be found throughout immigration rhetoric, and perhaps more political topics as well. The #*Schneegida* posters flipped the script on how nature metaphors can be used, by utilizing them against an organized group of other Germans

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<sup>89</sup> More examples are available in the appendix.

rather than immigrants, though in this manipulation, immigrants are still reduced to snow and ice. Pegida is the focus of the satire, but immigrants still receive collateral damage.

However, not all left-wing Twitter users actively engage in this satirization, and some speak against it. In 2015, when politician Wolfgang Schäuble described immigrants as a “*Lawine*” (avalanche), users took to Twitter to refute his rhetoric.<sup>90</sup> Heiko Maas, federal minister of justice at the time and current minister of foreign affairs, Tweeted:

*Menschen in Not sind keine Naturkatastrophe. Wir sollten #Flüchtlingsdebatte besonnen führen und nicht mit Worten Öl ins Feuer gießen. #Lawine*

*People in need are not a natural disaster. We should conduct # refugee debates prudently and not pour oil into the fire with words. #Avalanche*

This shows that Germans are self-aware of the usage of nature rhetoric. By saying that “people in need are not a natural disaster,” Maas refutes not only Schäuble’s claim of an “avalanche,” but also much of the dehumanizing, right-wing nature rhetoric analyzed in this research. Others echo Maas’s message, and more examples can be seen in the appendix.

The left-wing responses to the right-wing nature rhetoric shows a division between those who are willing to engage in the rhetoric themselves and those who repudiate it. Based on this, it is possible that the right-wing may be divided as well, though the data collected in this research does not show this division. In the sampling of data provided here, all three right-wing parties and many of their responders actively engage in nature metaphors and dehumanization.

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<sup>90</sup> „Schäuble warnt vor Flüchtlings-„Lawine““ *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 12 Nov. 2015.  
<https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/fluechtlingskrise/wolfgang-schaeuble-warnt-vor-lawine-in-fluechtlingskrise-13907768.html>

With this, and considering the historical background use of nature metaphors to dehumanize the Jewish population in Germany during the National Socialist regime, we can draw parallels between modern discourses and those present during the 1920s-1940s. This research does not explore a full ethnography of the development of nature metaphors from the Holocaust up to the present, so I cannot claim that modern discourse is a direct result. However, it appears to be employed in similar ways, often against an “undesirable”, vulnerable population. I must note that one factor contributing to the largely negative discourse surrounding immigrants in this research is that immigrant voices and other political parties are not included. According to Katharine Sarikakis’s report<sup>91</sup> on migration in Austria:

*Indeed, the tendency towards “negative” reporting on migrants is linked to the fact that reporting does not include the voices of migrants. There is a good deal of reporting on alleged crimes committed by migrants, but rarely, especially in tabloid media, are there comprehensive interviews with migrants themselves.*

This exposes a bias present in this research and all discourse analyses of immigration rhetoric when immigrants are not included. Future research should attempt a more complete ethnography of the German immigration discourse across the ideological spectrum as well as with individuals with a variety of experiences with migration, from those who have never interacted with migrants to those who are refugees themselves.

As referenced in the introduction to this paper, metaphors matter because they construct our social realities, and metaphors are presented by those in power. With three political groups employing these metaphors, it is important to examine how they do so and how this might be influencing their

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<sup>91</sup> Sarikakis, Katharine. “Austria: Good and Bad, but a Lack of Accountability when Journalism Fails the Migration Test,” *How does the media on both sides of the Mediterranean report on Migration? A study by journalists, for journalists and policymakers*, 2016.

[https://mediagovernance.univie.ac.at/fileadmin/user\\_upload/p\\_mediagovernance/Publikationen/AustriaMediaMigration.pdf](https://mediagovernance.univie.ac.at/fileadmin/user_upload/p_mediagovernance/Publikationen/AustriaMediaMigration.pdf)

audiences to think about immigration issues. In *Politics of Fear*, Ruth Wodak summarizes the importance of discourse to politics by discussing how fear dominates the political agenda, but a “politics of well-being” should be the primary focus to turn this around.<sup>92</sup> She discusses the “trap” of feeding on public anxiety and the “us vs. them” narrative as scapegoats for the failings of mainstream political parties. Wodak suggests that media reporting should focus less on “scandalous incidents” and instead should deconstruct them, in order to point out the “underlying dynamics.” Here, Wodak is expressing the intentions of the DHA as a discourse methodology, that is, to uncover power relations and the importance of context within discourse. This research has attempted to follow this call to action by more deeply analyzing the discourse used on Twitter, a public platform, by political parties, those who hold power over an ideology and an audience. While limited in scope, this sampling of data on three right-wing parties across two events shows how language, especially metaphors, can influence the way we think about things. This can have an impact for policymakers, as usage of dehumanizing rhetoric may ostracize those that need the most help.

As mentioned above, future research should attempt an ethnography to see how the rhetoric of dehumanization, and especially nature metaphors, has changed from the National Socialist period to the present. It may also be helpful to see how the rhetoric of the three political groups analyzed here has changed from 2015 to 2020 and beyond.<sup>93</sup> At the very least, as Wodak calls for, journalism and research must be more careful about how information is presented and look to find the underlying reasons, whether ideological or historical, for why language is used the way it is.

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<sup>92</sup> Wodak, *Politics of Fear*. Pg. 187-189.

<sup>93</sup> At the time of writing, the COVID-19 pandemic has reached around the globe, including Germany. It seems likely that right-wing groups may blame migrants and globalization for spreading the disease. Future research should consider a study of the discourse surrounding the pandemic in relation to migration and globalization issues.

It may never become entirely clear as to why immigrants are so often described as a “wave,” but by breaking down the context and intentions, we can begin to understand the power that one “wave” metaphor can have.

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## Appendix

### Appendix A.1 CDU – Open Borders

Text	Date	Account	Link	Retweets	Likes	Notable Replies (Text Only) (Italics are replies to the reply quoted immediately before) (Bold are further responses from o.g. account)
. @petertauber : Vorübergehende Wiedereinführung der #Grenzkontrollen notwendiger und zulässiger Schritt. Ganz Europa jetzt gefordert	9-14-15	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/643401709314818048">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/643401709314818048</a>	4	2	"wir haben das unsererseits erforderliche getan. nun müssen die übrigen eu-staaten tätig werden.:)"
Noch mehr Informationen zum Asyl- und Flüchtlingsgipfel: <a href="http://k.cdu.de/asyl-und-fluechtlingsgipfel">http://k.cdu.de/asyl-und-fluechtlingsgipfel</a>	9-25-15	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/647542425825710081">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/647542425825710081</a>	5	0	"Geld löst nicht alle Probleme!" - "Das sieht nur auf dem Papier 'gut' aus liebe CDU. Keine beschl. Verfahren wie in der Schweiz, zus. Anreize geschaffen." - "geht weiter. Letztendlich wie bei der Eurorettung nichts erreicht und Dtl. darf schön zahlen. Danke für nichts CDU"
Klares Bekenntnis zum Grundrecht auf Asyl. Jeder, der unsere Hilfe wirklich braucht, bekommt sie auch /umg	9-14-15	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/643402280285380608">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/643402280285380608</a>	7	4	"wir brauchen uns nicht verstecken.:)" - "Jeder? Ohne Plan, ohne Grenze? Wann ist Schluss? Bei 2 Millionen? Bei 10? Bekenntnisse dieser Art helfen keinem! #Asyl"
Angela #Merkel dankt zu Beginn ihrer Rede allen Menschen, die Flüchtlingen helfen #cdudigital	9-12-15	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/642671210040545280">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/642671210040545280</a>	4	4	
<u>Merkel ruft in #RegErkl zu globalen Anstrengungen gegen Flucht und Vertreibung auf</u>	9-24-15	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/646988665298780160">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/646988665298780160</a>	3	6	"Ab in die Produktion ihr CDU Untertanen.Es ist an Peinlichkeit nicht mehr zu übertreffen was ihr da Politik nennt." - "zu diesen worten Angela merkels gibt es keine alternative.:)"
„Grundlage unseres Zusammenlebens in Frieden & Freiheit sind unsere Werte“, sagte @petertauber : <a href="http://k.cdu.de/pressekonferenz-werteordnung...">http://k.cdu.de/pressekonferenz-werteordnung...</a> #DasistmeinLand	9-21-15	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/645972465789874176">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/645972465789874176</a>	7	5	"und sie glauben, die strengen Moslems halten sich daran? laecherlich!" - "dann tut mal etwas, dass diese Werte gerettet werden. Viel Zeit bleibt nicht..." - "Die CDU hat doch keine mehr... Alles verkauft für Wählerstimmen." - "Merkel hat den Suizid des deutschen Volkes und damit auch seiner Werte doch längst eingeleitet. Die Welt lacht über uns." - "Yet again the Germans pose a threat to Europeans and our civilization. End this third world Islamic colonisation NOW!" - suspended account Tauber response: " <i>Vielleicht liegt es einfach daran, dass Sie nicht sachlich diskutieren sondern trollen?</i> "
Bei einem Einwanderungsgesetz geht es um mehr als Paragrafen. Ziel: Menschen zu Bürgern unseres Landes machen /umg	9-14-15	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/643414584108388353">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/643414584108388353</a>	13	8	"laut internen Unterlagen der Polizei werden 70% der Straftaten von Migranten begangen! Offiziell wird nur gelogen!!" - "dann sollte es langsam auch kommen. aber bitte mit quote für nicht flüchtlinge" - "Tauber ist immer noch auf seinem #Einwanderungsgesetz-Trip. Glücklicherweise der einzige Politiker innerhalb der #CDU." - "warum darf gabriel mit seiner widerlichen inländerfeindlichkeit ungestraft teile der deutschen bevölkerung beleidigen?"
Großer Dank an die hauptamtlichen und ehrenamtlichen Helfer, leisten großartiges! #refugeeswelcome	9-14-15	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/643401860192337920">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/643401860192337920</a>	4	0	"So weit ist es schon gekommen, dass die CDU sich eine von linksradikalen Studenten ersponnene Parole per Hashtag aneignet. #Autsch"
Alle Länder in der EU müssen ihrer Verantwortung für eine gemeinsame Asylpolitik wahrnehmen, betont Angela #Merkel #CDUdigital /umg	9-12-15	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/642671743094624256">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/642671743094624256</a>	13	4	"Hätte sie sich schon mal vor einiger Zeit um die Ursachen der Flüchtlingswelle gekümmert, dann gäbe es dies Dilemma nicht."

Schon gesehen? Angela #Merkel im #Sommerinterview mit <a href="http://CDU.TV: „Wir schaffen das!“">http://CDU.TV: „Wir schaffen das!“</a> <a href="https://youtu.be/AtaKMsJDKKs">https://youtu.be/AtaKMsJDKKs</a>	9-9-15	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/641635962594787328">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/641635962594787328</a>	7	6	"deutschland vor der islamischen invasion schützen (and link to article)" - "Wir schaffen nichts aber mehr Schulden machen und in den Ruin treiben das schaffen diese unfähigen Politiker"
#Merkel zum Thema Flüchtlinge: "Von Anfang an muss Integration allerhöchste Priorität haben."	9-9-15	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/641633036266786816">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/641633036266786816</a>	5	2	"Dann hört auf, rassistischen Drogenprohibitionsterror zu betreiben, mit dem ihr Menschen absichtlich der Kriminalität ausliefert!"
Merkel dankte jedem, der sich für Flüchtlinge einsetzt: „Sie tun etwas wirklich Gutes.“	9-4-15	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/639888220742909952">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/639888220742909952</a>	11	10	"Armutsrentner, Obdachlosen oder die Armutskinder und die schrumpfende Mittelschicht, dank ständig zurückgefahrter Sozialleistungen?" - "und dieser wird sogar noch im Tod für die perfiden Pläne der Einfuhr von Billiglöhnen mißbraucht , sondern wird auch noch mit einer" - "Frau Merkel hat recht, wenn es jemand schafft, dann wir! Ein Akt der Menschlichkeit, ein Akt der Humanität!" - "In Merkel steckt tatsächlich ein neuer Adolf habe ich das Gefühl. Die wird langsam größenwahnsinnig" - "Schämen Sie sich nicht?" "Schäme du dich. Deutschland ist bunt und wird immer bunter und das ist gut so. Wir Deutsche helfen gern. Sonst wandere aus." - "Die Leute haben genug von der Asylantenflut, wollen keine Überfremdung und ihre deutsche Identität behalten."
: Flüchtlinge finden offene Herzen in unserem Land	8-31-15	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/638324753984548864">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/638324753984548864</a>	7	6	"fragt doch das volk mit einem volksentscheid was mit dem dre... volk das zu uns kommt geschhen soll dann hätte man wieder" tauber reply: "Sie sind eh kein Wähler für uns. Wer Menschen pauschal als "Drecksvolk" bezeichnet kann keine Partei mit dem C wählen."
Hilfe für und Situation von #Flüchtlingen: Gemeinsame Aufgabe in Europa und im Bund	8-31-15	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/638298754647506944">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/638298754647506944</a>	2	2	"Nun auch noch bei ZAPP... Kritik von einem "typischen" schwarzen Migranten , selbstverständlich Politikwissenschaftler wie" - "CDU sucht sich halt aus, wem sie gegenüber christlich ist, und zwar denen, die uns die Armen vom Leib halten ;)"
Europa braucht momentan nicht dringend ein einheitliches Radwegenetz, sondern eine einheitliche Flüchtlingspolitik.	8-31-15	Peter Tauber - Sec Gen of CDU	<a href="https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/638333584802246656">https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/638333584802246656</a>	16	27	
wir handeln. Deutschland hat schon andere Herausforderungen gemeistert.	8-31-15	Peter Tauber - Sec Gen of CDU	<a href="https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/638427557973594113">https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/638427557973594113</a>	0	1	"1.ich glaube nicht das wir überfordert sind, die Zuwanderung ob groß oder klein war immer ein Gewinn für Deutschland." "bei hier arbeitenden/integrierten Zuwanderern garantiert nicht. Aber: Clans, libanesische Großfamilien?" - "2. Natürlich darf man die damit verbunden Probleme und Gefahren nicht ausblenden, man Sie aktiv lösen/bekämpfen." "1. jeder Zuwanderer, der arbeitet und sich gesetzeskonform verhält, sollte bleiben. Die Differenzierung fehlt!!!" - "Korrekt. DE scheint im Moment als einziges Land handlungsfähig zu sein. Dafür Schulterklopfen. Aber was sagt das über Europa?" - "DE wird sich massiv verändern mit diesem Menschen, von den enormen Kosten abgesehen. Der Bedarf an Arbeitskräften fluktuiert 1/2" - "Politik muss endlich verstehen: Menschen, die ein DE wollen ohne zu viel kulturfremde Zuwanderung, sind nicht gleich rechts.2/2"
Würde mal ganz selbstbewusst sagen, dass sich vor Ort mehr Christdemokraten für Flüchtlinge engagieren als Grüne.	9-5-15	Peter Tauber - Sec Gen of CDU	<a href="https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/642002175684740098">https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/642002175684740098</a>	3	4	"das zu einem Wettbewerb zu machen wäre schäbig, oder? #Fluechtlinge" Tauber response: "Jeder sollte helfen. Wir brauchen nur als Christdemokraten von Grünen keine Nachhilfe in Sachen Empathie."
Das C in der CDU und die Flüchtlingsfrage: Packen wir es gemeinsam an! (link to article of same title)	9-10-15	Peter Tauber - Sec Gen of CDU	<a href="https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/642002175372185600">https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/642002175372185600</a>	18	24	"#Willkommensland Deutschland! #Gemeinsam #refugeeswelcome" - "und weil Sie soo viel C sind, hungern Sie die syrische Bevölkerung mit ihren Sanktionen aus?" - "Nehmt den Reichen und gebt es den armen...mit der hohlen Phrase seid ihr Christenspinner doch schon ewig auf Tour." - "...christlich heißt nicht, sich von allen ausnutzen und verarschen lassen!"
Auch #CDU Mitglieder engagieren sich für Flüchtlinge. Finde ich gut	9-11-15	Peter Tauber - Sec Gen of CDU	<a href="https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/642304126521622529">https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/642304126521622529</a>	4	5	"ist das nicht selbstverständlich?" - "ich gehöre zwar keiner Partei an, bin kein Grenzdenker und kann nichts dafür, hier geboren zu sein. Herzlich willkommen" - "Gibt es denn irgendeinen Grund warum die CDU-Mitgliedschaft davon abhalten sollte? Ich denke doch wohl nicht!"

wenn er einen Asylantrag stellt nichts. Ist Status quo. Geht um Übersicht und Handhabung.	9-13-15	Peter Tauber - Sec Gen of CDU	<a href="https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/643130813601697792">https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/643130813601697792</a>		4	"gut. Warum lassen Sie die Flüchtlinge dann nicht direkt in Ungarn abholen? Würde einiges erleichtern." - "es geht ja auch um Signale. Und das Signal, besonders das der CSU ist: wir wollen euch hier nicht."
Die Grenze ist nicht geschlossen. Es wird kontrolliert.	9-14-15	Peter Tauber - Sec Gen of CDU	<a href="https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/643422620101308420">https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/643422620101308420</a>	1	3	
Wenn sich Bürgerinnen und Bürger bei der Hilfe für Flüchtlinge engagieren #DasistmeinLand	9-16-15	Peter Tauber - Sec Gen of CDU	<a href="https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/644209480683638784">https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/644209480683638784</a>	6	17	"..rosa Brille absetzen und anfangen zu denken... dann sieht es schon anders aus..." - "Was ist Herr Tauber wenn das Engagement aufhört?? Wieviel verkraftet dieses Land und seine Bevölkerung noch ???" - "Wenn sich Politiker für Ihr Land und sein Volk einsetzt, DAS ist meine Regierung"
Wenn Beamte, Angestellte und viele Helfer im Dienst der Menschlichkeit nicht auf den Dienstschluss achten #DasistmeinLand	9-16-15	Peter Tauber - Sec Gen of CDU	<a href="https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/644242158065598465">https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/644242158065598465</a>	9	26	"senden Sie die Arbeitsamt Kollegen mal nach draußen an die frische Luft zu den Geflüchteten. Warum nicht? Wenigstens 20%-80%" - "Wenn die Sprecherin für Menschenrechte gegen Flüchtlinge hetzt ... #dasistleiderauchmeinland" - "wenn Politiker bestehende Gesetze (be-)achten und die Bürger nicht belügen #DasistmeinLand"
Kein grimmiger Blick, sondern ein frohes guten Morgen selbst wenn es ein anstrengender Tag wird. #dasistmeinland	9-17-15	Peter Tauber - Sec Gen of CDU	<a href="https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/644406307773095936">https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/644406307773095936</a>	3	9	"#dasistmeinland zu DE gehört die Beziehung zu #Frankreich.Wo ist die in der #Flüchtlingsfrage ? #wirschaffendas, aber ohne FR" - "Guten Morgen nach Berlin. Und nicht vergessen. Über dem Eingang zum Reichstag steht "Dem Deutschen Volke". #dasistmeinland" - "Ach, der Peter und seine Pfadfindersprüche :-( :-( :-( "
Wenn Menschen zuhören und sich gegenseitig mit ihren Sorgen und Ängsten ernst nehmen und nicht übereinander herfallen. #dasistmeinland	9-17-15	Peter Tauber - Sec Gen of CDU	<a href="https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/644597895380008960">https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/644597895380008960</a>	12	29	"wenn ich sorgen und Ängste lese klingt das nach Entwicklungsländern. Entwicklung brauchen wir tatsächlich #refugeeswelcome" - "das ist aber nicht Twitter"
Das ist doch gut! RT@tagesschau_eil : EU-Innenminister einigen sich auf Verteilung von 120.000 Flüchtlingen http://tagesschau.de	9-22-15	Peter Tauber - Sec Gen of CDU	<a href="https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/646346319754330113">https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/646346319754330113</a>	1	4	"Super, denn fehlen ja nur noch 4.880.000 bei erwarteten 5 Mio."
Danke an meine Berliner Laufgruppe für die gesammelten Sportsachen für Flüchtlinge. #aufpeter	9-26-15	peter Tauber - Sec Gen of CDU	<a href="https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/647748229761662977">https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/647748229761662977</a>	1	7	"Super! An wen übergibt ihr die Sachen? Wollen bei Amorelie auch sammeln und helfen" <b>"Bei mir im Wahlkreis gibt es da eine Initiative. Die bekommen die Sportbekleidung für Flüchtlinge. #aufpeter"</b>
Absolut inakzeptabel! Da hat jemand nicht verstanden, welche Werte die CDU ausmachen: Wir nehmen jeden einzelnen in den Blick.	9-29-15	Peter Tauber - Sec Gen of CDU	<a href="https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/648813007749951488">https://twitter.com/petertauber/status/648813007749951488</a>	3	16	"INAKZEPTABEL ??? Weil sie benennt, dass die Einstellung der Mehrheit der Sunniten mit unseren Werten unvereinbar ist?" <i>"ja, inakzeptabel. Was denn sonst? Sie lassen Zweifel an Ihren Werten und Ihrer Demokratiefähigkeit aufkommen."</i> - "anderer Minderheiten durch den sunnitisch-fundamentalistischen IS entspricht auch nicht unseren Werten." - "Herr Tauber gehören sie etwa auch Fraktion der Anti-Deutschen Koalition an?" - "Vizekanzler Sigmar Gabriel hat normale Bürger wegen anderer Meinung als "Pack"bezeichnet.Sind Ausländer was Besseres?" - "SIE sind absolut inakzeptabel Herr Tauber! Die Frau hat recht! Der Islam ist eine Veranstaltung von "Dreck" und "Pack"" - "Wenn die Menschen in Deutschland verstehen würden, welche Werte die #CDU ausmachen, würde man sie nicht mehr wählen.." - "Warum distanziert sich die CDU von diese Hass-Aussage nicht?" <b>"haben wir."</b>

## Appendix A.2 CDU – New Year's Eve

Text	Date	Account	Link	Retweets	Likes	Notable Replies (Text Only) (Italics are replies to the reply quoted immediately before) (Bold are further responses from o.g. account)
#Merkel: Gesundheit, Kraft, Zuversicht und Gottes Segen für das neue Jahr 2016 #Neujahrsansprache In diesem Sinne einen guten Rutsch! /umg	12-31-15	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/682635149062836224">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/682635149062836224</a>	7	20	"Aha und das ist dann eure bereicherung? (with link to Cologne story)" - "Danke, sagt das lieber den Opfer aus Köln, ist wegen dem Flüchtlingspack nicht schon genug Unheil angerichtet worden? Genug ist genug" - "Sie tragen die Verantwortung für das was in Köln und viele andere deutsche Städte passiert! Sie zerstören Europa! Merkelmussweg!" <i>"lot of tweets in France about those rapes as a lot have predicted that a few months before as it happened in Sweden too"</i>
Unser letzter Video-Tipp 2015: Die #Neujahrsansprache von Angela #Merkel	12-31-15	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/682634261116116992">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/682634261116116992</a>	6	5	"mein Tipp für 2016: HINSEHEN&HANDELN (with link to article about sexuelle Uebergriffe)"
Heute, morgen & übermorgen können Sie sich noch für die Stellenausschreibung in der Online-Kommunikation bewerben	1-4-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/683973610210484224">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/683973610210484224</a>	2	2	"Kollege Wechselminister/ Springer de Maiziere loco a la Köln?Baut nur Mist aber bellen.Soll eigene Stufen kehren." -
Mehr als ein halbes Dutzend kleine Könige im Konrad-Adenauer-Haus:	1-6-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/684770198860206080">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/684770198860206080</a>	5	17	"Die Tatverdächtigen sind Flüchtlinge! (link to article about NYE)"
.@petertauber im @ntvde - Interview "Wir brauchen mehr Beamte, auch auf den Straßen	1-7-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/685098881848311808">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/685098881848311808</a>	10	18	"dieser Populismus ist ärgerlich und eine Vorlage für rechte Spinner! Absicht?" - "Ohne Obergrenze bekommen wir das Problem nicht in den Griff. Ihr seid mitverantwortlich" <i>"Ihr Politiker trägt die Verantwortung mit eurer Politik. entschuldigt euch bei allen Opfern."</i> - "importierte Vergewaltiger, oder waren das "Ostfriesen"? Wir.schaffen.Massenexzesse! Biodeutsche zu 1000 auch schon?" - "Flüchtlinge aus Syrien haben die Frauen bestohlen u. sexuell belästigt!!" - "NEIN ! Wir brauchen weniger eingewanderte Kriminelle auf unseren Straßen !!!"
Rekorde am Arbeitsmarkt: Noch nie hatten so viele Menschen im wiedervereinten Deutschland einen Arbeitsplatz!	1-7-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/685123796978790400">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/685123796978790400</a>	7	11	"Nächstes Jahr sieht anders aus...wenn die Flüchtlinge auf den Arbeitsmarkt drängen!" - "Frage: sind Flüchtlinge in die Statistik aufgenommen? Noch nie gab es aber auch so viele Aufstocker wie heute!" - "Die sind bei den Masseneinwanderungen auch wieder schnell vergeben die Arbeitsplätze." - "Plus den eingewanderten, kriminell tätigen Flüchtlingen haben wir sogar Vollbeschäftigung !!!"
<a href="http://CDU.TV">http://CDU.TV</a> kompakt aus Mainz: Wettbewerbsfähigkeit. Zusammenhalt. Sicherheit. #cdukt16	1-8-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/685487797277339648">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/685487797277339648</a>	7	8	"kriminelle Asylbewerber gleich wieder Richtung Heimat schicken vor mit DNA und Finger abdrücken registrieren" - "Die Regierung hat total versagt und trägt einen großen Teil der Verantwortung für diese Taten. Mein Vertrauen habe ich verloren" -
Statement von Angela Merkel vor #cdukt16 <a href="https://youtu.be/KjCBDWz5tNQ">https://youtu.be/KjCBDWz5tNQ</a> "Unseren politischen Willen auch in der Praxis durchsetzen"	1-8-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/685550420010385408">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/685550420010385408</a>	12	5	"aufnahmestop ist die Einzige Maßnahme. Sonst verliert man wieder die Kontrolle über solche Silverster mobs" - "Wie wäre es, zunächst mal das geltende Recht an der Grenze durchzusetzen?" - "Wieso Toleranz gegenüber Flüchtlingen? Sie vergewaltigen klauen und begripschen Frauen. Und das in Massen nicht nur einige Wenige!!!" - "Die lasche Merkel labert nur und tut nichts und wird für ihre lasche Flüchtlingspolitik von den Wählern abgestraft werden ! Und tschüss" - "Arabische Horden die Frauen anfallen, sind für Merkel also ein "interessantes Programm"... #koeln"
.@kritikkultur on #Periscope: Angela Merkel im Anschluss an die Klausurtagung #cdukt16	1-9-16	cdu official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/685790122676228096">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/685790122676228096</a>	5	3	"ich habe keine Toleranz mehr. Bielefeld Köln Hamburg (war ich selbst da) . Das sind Massen an Verbrechermobs" - "Könnt ihr eurem Portfolio schlechter News zu Merkels Flüchtlingen hinzufügen! 500 Araber attackierten Disco:"



Mitschnitt der PK mit Angela #Merkel und @JuliaKloeckner #cdunkt16	1-9-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/685860639219290112">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/685860639219290112</a>	19	14	"Ihr seid alle Mittäter ihr lasst Abschaum ins Land die Frauen/ Kinder vergewaltigen und lässt die Grenze offen" - "Grenzen öffnen und dann ? Dass ist Ihre Politik ! Integration ? Nichts von dem ist war. Belügen Sie uns nicht!" - "Die Wahlaussichten wären ohne Merkel sicher gut, die Asyl und Flüchtlingspolitik wird zurecht zum Wahldesaster der CDU" - "Merkels Asylpolitik: Essen steht vor Integrationskatastrophe!" -
Klausurtagung: Wettbewerbsfähigkeit. Zusammenhalt. Sicherheit. #cdunkt16 Mainzer Erklärung:	1-11-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/686578240190832640">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/686578240190832640</a>	13	17	"Die Forderung der @CDU nach "mehr Sicherheit" ist der dreiste Versuch, ihre Verantwortung für die gegenwärtige Situation zu verschleiern." - "wenn d. @CDU die "Partei der inneren Sicherheit" wäre, dann hätten die Vorfälle am #koelnbnh nicht passieren dürfen ( 10 Jahre #Merkel )" - "die Ereignisse von köln und Hamburg haben dies bestätigt." - "Ihr verheizt die Bürger dieses Landes. IHR schafft das!"
Klausurtagung: Wettbewerbsfähigkeit. Zusammenhalt. Sicherheit. #cdunkt16 Mainzer Erklärung	1-12-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/686933778015596546">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/686933778015596546</a>	9	10	"Ihre unerhörte Form der Schamlosigkeit und Verantwortungslosigkeit in der derzeitigen gesell. Situation scheint mir exemplarisch für @CDU" -
Solide Finanzen: Schäuble bildet 2015 Rücklage von 12,1 Mrd. Euro	1-13-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/687262774548901889">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/687262774548901889</a>	13	15	"Rücklagen für Asylanten!!! Danke ihr „CHRISTEN„!Pfu 4.00Euro Kindergelderhöhung!!! und Rentenarmut in der BRD!!!Pfu!!!!!!!!!!!!!!" - "Also die asyl finanzierung 2016 ist somit gesichert? Yes! Merkel schafft uns...eeeh ich meine das. Merkel schafft das!" - "Was würde ein Grenzzaun kosten???"
Bundestag beschließt umfangreichen Datenaustausch und Flüchtlingsausweis:	1-14-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/687700728266244096">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/687700728266244096</a>	12	9	"Wie wäre es mal mit der ganzen Wahrheit. Oder?" -
Der Flüchtlingsausweis kommt: zB Speicherung von Namen, Herkunft, Fingerabdrücken	1-15-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/68798849378042656">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/68798849378042656</a>	21	28	"Eingereiste Straftäter und Terroristen reißen sich bestimmt schon darum, um endlich registriert vergewaltigen und morden zu können." - "Ich möchte keine Bürokratisierung von Migranten sondern deren Abschiebung ." - "Was ist mit den Hunderttausenden die unter gekrochen sind?CDU kann man nicht für voll nehmen!Es lebe die AFD!!!" - "Ist doch alles nur heiße Luft. Ihre Cheffin lebt in einer anderen Welt." - "Leider zu spät..." - "Gestzesmangel wegen zu langer Verfahren. Asylrecht übertrieben im Vergleich zur übrigen Welt. Feigheit vor der Wahrheit ?" - "Die CDU ist völlig orientierungslos. Endlich schnellere Asylverfahren umsetzen und Integrationskonzepte. Bundespolizei verstärken." - "der Flüchtlingsausweis kommt und die nächste Flüchtlingswelle auch. Schaut einfach mal zum Fenster raus."
Flüchtlingsthema weiter ein europäisches Thema, berichtet @petertauber aus den Gremiensitzungen der #CDU. /ap	1-18-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/689063155163639808">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/689063155163639808</a>	5	3	"Nein ! Merkel hat die deutschen Grenzen geöffnet ! Es ist ein deutsches Problem ! Wacht endlich auf !" - "Merkels Milchmädchenrechnung geht nicht auf. Osteuropa wird niemals ihre Grenzen für Millionen von Muslimen öffnen" - "Haha, der Rest Europas wird sich hüten, eine ähnliche Katastrophe sich ins Land zu holen. Träumt weiter in euren Gremien!" - "Auch eine eu-weite Aktion kann besser als eine nationale Maßnahme helfen, uns vor zuviel Flüchtlingen zu bewahren."
Wichtig, dass #SPD und @sigmargabrielnicht weiter das Asylpaket II blockieren, sagt @petertauber	1-18-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/689063741841879044">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/689063741841879044</a>	5	2	"Sigmar Gabriel nur flotte Sprüche los, die das Flüchtlingsproblem nicht entschärfen können."
Wir wissen, dass viele Menschen in unserem Land sich Sorgen machen, das nehmen wir auch sehr ernst. @petertauber /ap	1-18-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/689065010266554368">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/689065010266554368</a>	10	14	"und was machen Sie? Wie viele junge männliche Flüchtlinge sind hier? Wenn die weiterhin diese weiche Gangart spüren ....." <i>"Böse Buben gehören vor Gericht. Die meisten sind anständig, dankbar und wollen Deutsch lernen und arbeiten."</i> - "Gut dass das angekommen ist. Viele machen sich aber nicht nur Sorgen, sie fühlen sich oder sind realiter bedroht." - "Probleme, die die Kanzlerin leider mit einer utopischen Einladungs politik geschaffen hat." - " ja, wir machen uns sorgen um den Rechtsstaat und dass die Union der Afd nach dem Mund redet" -
Wir Politiker sind gewählt, Probleme zu lösen, nicht nur zu beschreiben. Das tun wir, erklärt @petertauber	1-18-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/689065231679664128">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/689065231679664128</a>	6	5	"Macht die @CDU seit 71 Jahren. Erfolgreich für Deutschland." - "Hallo Hr. Tauber, ich kann Ihre Selbstwahrnehmung leider nicht teilen. Die CDU hat es geschafft D zu fluten. Wahnsinn." - every other reply mentions the CDU causing problems
Weniger Flüchtlinge durch mehr sichere Herkunftsländer, sagt @petertauber	1-18-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/689115702637281281">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/689115702637281281</a>	12	9	"habe gerade gehört (ZDF heute) dass eigentlich sofort 50.000 Flüchtlinge abgeschoben werden müssten!Wahnsinn!" - "aber eigentlich hört sich das verlogen an. Was zahlt ihr den Herkunftsländern, dafür, dass sie "sicher" werden?" - "weniger Flüchtlinge durch Sofortige Schließung der deutschen Grenzen." -

Konzentrieren wir uns mal auf die Arbeit, sagt @petertauber im @radioeins -Gespräch. Zum Nachhören:	1-20-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/689728487461101568">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/689728487461101568</a>	5	4	"TU-Studie: Pegida ist nicht rechtsextrem Mal belesen ihr, CHRISTEN, Und AfD kommt jetzt! Klasse!!" - ""Arbeit" im Sinne von "Wir reden alles so lange breit, bis sich die Probleme selber lösen?" - "Er Lügt. Im Saarland sind Turnhallen von Asylanten belegt. Es sind wenige, aber er lügt." -
Die Obergrenze ist ein zahnloser Tiger, sagt @petertauber bei #N24. Wichtig ist eine europäische Lösung.	1-21-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/690124511237259265">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/690124511237259265</a>	10	8	"Obergrenze zahnlos aber dafür höhere Abschiebungen. Diese Logik erschließt sich nur Politikern." - "Leider werden wir aber doch im Stich gelassen; und insbesondere Griechenland sabotiert auf ganzer Linie" - "Der zahnlose Tiger sind doch eher wir." - "Absoluter Bullshit! Eine #Obergrenze muss her! Deutschland ist jetzt schon völlig überfordert mit den vielen Flüchtlingen" - "Flüchtlingskosten sind für viele Staaten zu hoch. Ohne ein Konzept auf übernationaler Fondsbasis keine Einigung denkbar." -
Die Länder müssen die Abgelehnten auch abschieben. Dann wären wir einen großen Schritt weiter, so @petertauber bei #N24	1-21-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/690124971457253376">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/690124971457253376</a>	8	15	"wendet doch einfach bestehende Gesetze an, damit weniger Einwanderer und letztendlich weniger Abschiebungen" - "bund, länder und kommunen Hand in Hand. ob Flüchtlinge ob soziale Leistungen. mehr Geld muß der Steuerzahler erbringen." - "haha genau und der ball ist rund und ein spiel dauert 90 minuten. lebt ihr auf dem mars oder seid aus einem schlaf erwacht" - "das ist nur Plazebo-Gerede. Abschiebung ohne Klärung der Herkunft oder in Krisenländer ist rechtlich nicht möglich." - "Aber die anderen Länder wollen sie nicht mehr zurück. Resultat der Merkelschen blauäugigen Politik."
... @JuliaKloeckner : Rechtes Gedankengut bekämpft man nicht durch Aus-dem-Weg-gehen, sondern durch In-den-Weg-stellen.	1-21-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/690148489511211008">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/690148489511211008</a>	39	78	"Nix Neues. So bekämpft man auch linkes Gedankengut. Welche Möglichkeiten gibt's noch?" - "Eine einfache Frage, @JuliaKloeckner: Warum haben Sie selbst noch 10/2014 den Medienboykott der AfD gefordert?" - "Fangt mal an zwischen rechts und Rechtsextremismus zu differenzieren und ihr gewinnt vlt den ein oder anderen zurück!" - "Die AfD wird es euch verlogenen „CHRISTEN, zeigen! Asylpolitik komplett aus den Ruder! Uns Deutsche habt ihr vergessen!" - "vollkommen richtig liebe Julia Kloeckner. gerade die Diskussion mit der afd zeigt erst, wie hinterwäldlerisch sie sind." - "Pegida, AfD-Hoch, Aufmärsche, auch Massenlager, Mio. ohne Pässe u. Angst der Bürger/innen in D gibt's erst seit Sept. 2015"
Das #N24-Interview mit @petertauber  http://welt.de/politik/article151292395/Die-Obergrenze-ware-ein-zahnloser-Tiger.html "Seit November kommen weniger Menschen bei uns an"	1-21-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/690191733007749120">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/690191733007749120</a>	10	8	Tauber: "ihre Annahme, dass den Rest des Jahres so viele kommen ist schlicht falsch." <i>"geben Sie ihr Ehrenwort zu dieser Aussage???"</i> - Tauber: "weniger als 1000 am Sonntag. Aber faktenfrei passt ja zu ihrem Weltbild..." - "Lügnet" Tauber: <i>"ich kaufe ein R" "Ich ein A... Wie AfD...!"</i> - "Es sind schon genug Menschen da... eh Kriminelle und Flüchtlinge!" - "Aber auch nur weil es kalt ist, warten wir mal das Frühjahr ab." - "Seid November? Komplette Verwirrung oder was! Der Flüchtlingsstrom nimmt nicht ab trotz Winter! Müßen wir jetzt ein Arzt holen?" - "lieber Peter tauber, warum diese Nachricht erst jetzt? es hätten nämlich viele Gewalttätigkeiten verhindert werden können." - "Es ertrinken täglich Menschen in den Wässern zu Lesbos - immer noch."
Merkel sichert Türkei Unterstützung in Flüchtlingskrise zu	1-22-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/690569645535920128">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/690569645535920128</a>	7	6	"sie handelt vollkommen richtig. hätten die türken kein flüchtlingsproblem, wären die flüchtlingszahlen bei uns wesentlich geringer." - "Und was kostet der Spaß? Merkt Ihr eigentlich noch IRGEND ETWAS? Der steht doch sowieso bald wieder da und hält die Hand auf!" - "Inkonsequent: Flüchtlinge mit #welcome nach DE locken, aber von der Türkei niederknüppeln lassen und Aussengrenzen dicht? Was denn nun?" -
Wir wollen die Liste sicherer Herkunftsländer um Algerien, Marokko und Tunesien erweitern.	1-25-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/691622276857487360">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/691622276857487360</a>	24	50	"was bringt? Wenn die Jungs erst hier sind ist Abschiebung unmöglich. Die nimmt nicht mal die eigene Heimat zurück. Und dann?" - "Ihr seid halt Mörder in Nadelstreifen #offeneGrenzen" - "Ist eine DEUTLICHE Reduzierung der #Flüchtlingszahlen erreicht? Nein! Es bleibt nur #Obergrenze oder #Grenzschließung! #Flüchtlinge" - "Ich wähle bei der nächsten Wahl die AfD, auch wenn mir die Vorsitzende nicht gefällt, aber alles ist besser als diese Regierung." - "Erst Gesetze und Verträge brechen und nun nach dem Strohalm der Hilfe suchen. 6 und setzen. Wir haben fertig. Merkels CDU links partei" - "Und wir wollen, dass Ihr euren Rassismus / Nationalismus verkleinert. (Oder besser noch: Ihn ganz aufhebt)" - "Aber nicht weil sie als "sicher" gelten, sondern weil einige wenige in #Deutschland straffällig werden. #Rassismus #CDU #CSU" - "Bravo, blitzschnelle Reaktion. Schneller kann keine Schnecke Flüchtlingsprobleme effizient meistern. Nur noch 2000 pro Tag!" -
Im BAMF werden mittlerweile 2.000 Asylanträge pro Tag entschieden. BT-Präsident Lammert im @tagesspiegel - Flüchtlingsfrage: Kein Thema beschäftigt die Abgeordneten mehr	1-26-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/691967917072781313">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/691967917072781313</a>	15	12	"CDU ist nicht mehr Herr der Lage! Wir schaffen das,!!! Merkel, ab nach CHILE! Margot Honecker hat noch ein Bett frei!" - "daß in der Bevölkerung die asyl- und flüchtlingspolitik kritisiert wird, hat zuallererst die SPD zu verantworten." - "2000 x 365 Tage im Jahr sind auf 10 Jahre 7.300.000 Muslime mehr im Land - wollen wir alle das? Wer hat uns eigentlich gefragt?" - "Leider kann ich der CDU weder glauben noch trauen und so geht es immer mehr Menschen in Deutschland ☹️ #abmerkeln" -
	1-27-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/692349192300265472">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/692349192300265472</a>	3	2	"die SPD muß endlich aufhören, zu allen notwendigen Veränderungen des Asyl- und Flüchtlingsproblems nein zu sagen." - "Der führende Migrationsforscher Paul Collier weist allein Angela Merkel die Schuld an der Flüchtlingskrise zu....." -



Kabinett beschließt: Straffällige Ausländer leichter ausweisen - auch bei Bewährungsstrafen	1-27-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/692360681769824256">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/692360681769824256</a>	25	30	"Geht nur wenn das Heimatland Sie zurück nimmt. Marokko lehnt das z.b. ab Also gilt es nicht f. Marokkaner etc. Augenwischerei Wahlen ?" - "Bei Bewährungsstrafen ist Ausweisung möglich?! Wer entscheidet das? Warum ist eine Ausweisung nicht Pflicht?" - "Sie nicht ins Land lassen ist der bester Schutz! ...einfach Lager in den Nachbarländern bauen" - "Ich frage warum soll mal als deutsche mit 1 Mio Flüchtlinge zusammen leben.Denkt die CDU nicht an ihre eigene Volk.Wo sind unsere werte" - "schützt eure Frauen, nicht die Polnische Demokratie " - "und bitte auch Abschieben. Wenn Ihr Euch konsequent um die Probleme kümmern würdet, dann müssten wir bzgl. AFD auch keine Sorgen haben" -
Erster Flüchtlingsausweis ausgegeben:	1-28-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/692755127783051270">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/692755127783051270</a>	9	9	"Yeah? Die CDU ist im Schneckenmodus - sehr langsam und mehrere Monate zu spät und es ist ein Pilotprojekt - wow" - "Es wäre schön, wenn der Flüchtlingsausweis ein besseres geben und nehmen zwischen Deutschen und Zugereisten möglich macht." - "wenn er seine Ausreiseaufforderung bekommen hätte wäre das viel sympathischer" - "Beim Anhalten der Zuwanderungsdynamik über 2016 wird die männliche deutsche Bevölkerung in 18-35 Alterskohorte zu einer Minderheit" <i>"ja und? Andere Zahlen deuten darauf hin, dass sie wieder in ihrer Heimat reisen, wenn der Krieg vorbei ist"</i> -
Die Koalition handelt: Der Weg für das Asylpaket II ist frei! Mehr Infos unter	1-29-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/693091287365455872">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/693091287365455872</a>	16	21	"Solange die nordafrikanischen Staaten keine Migranten zurücknehmen,sind die Beschlüsse heiße Luft." - " Das wird die Menschen nicht mehr beruhigen. Man weiß , wie sowas endet." - "Asyl II ist scheinheilig. Der Zuzug geht weiter wie gehabt. Die Kosten steigen. Unsere Kinder können das bezahlen. Ich will das nicht." - "CSU/CDU haben taktiert und verzögert, gerade beim Sexualstrafrecht. Die war mal wieder gegen die Frauen gerichtet!" -
Die Bilanz der CDU-geführten Bundesregierung 2015: Deutschland auf Erfolgskurs.	1-30-16	CDU official account	<a href="https://twitter.com/CDU/status/693376498565300225">https://twitter.com/CDU/status/693376498565300225</a>	22	20	"Nach welchen Kriterien wird eigentlich hier Erfolg definiert? (Bitte um Link)" -

## Appendix B.1 AfD – Opening of Borders

Text	Date	Account	Link	Retweets	Likes	Notable Replies (Text Only) (Italics are replies to the reply quoted immediately before) (Bold are further responses from o.g. account)
#Petry: #CDU-Politiker gibt Realitätsverdrängung auf und übernimmt #Asyl-Positionen der AfD	9-3-15	AfD official	<a href="https://twitter.com/AfD/status/639418645479882752">https://twitter.com/AfD/status/639418645479882752</a>	11	12	"Ein einziger CDU-Politiker übernimmt Positionen von der AfD, ja und? Die CDU/CSU wird das als Partei sicher niemals tun!" - "Deutschl. setzt sich nur mit den Nebenwirkungen dieser Flüchtl.-Krise auseinander, statt die Ursache zu beseitigen!"
#vonderLeyen befiehlt den Einsatz der Bundeswehr im Inneren und begeht #Verfassungsbruch	9-14-15	AfD official	<a href="https://twitter.com/AfD/status/643434378161451008">https://twitter.com/AfD/status/643434378161451008</a>	11	11	"wie passt das zu "#AfD fordert Einsatz der Bundeswehr zur Grenzsicherung" und "kriegsfähige Bewaffnung" von Kollege Höcke?" <i>"lächerlicher Haufen von preisgesenkten Nazis obwohl wie war das 2021 afd stellt Verteidigungsministerium...."</i>
Frau #Merkel beim Ablegen Ihres Amtseides. Gegenüberstellung der Eidesformel mit der Realität.	9-15-15	AfD official	<a href="https://twitter.com/AfD/status/64375949793914850">https://twitter.com/AfD/status/64375949793914850</a>	16	17	"da es keinen Staat gibt, gibt es auch keinen Amtseid." - "#nichtmeinland heißt offensichtlich, dass #Merkel für ihr nachhaltig staatschädigendes Handeln keine Verantwortung übernehmen will"
#EU versagt erneut – Aus Brüssel ist keine Lösung des #Asylchaos zu erwarten	9-15-15	AfD official	<a href="https://twitter.com/AfD/status/643794479485464576">https://twitter.com/AfD/status/643794479485464576</a>	19	20	"Auch von der AfD ist keine Lösung in Sicht. Die Forderungen der AfD verschieben das Problem nur in die Zukunft." - "Ungarn setzt jetzt gegen Flüchtlinge nicht nur Tränengas, sondern auch Gummigeschosse und Schlagstöcke ein. DANKE, FRAU PETRY" - "Die EU hat längst versagt. Die EU ist ein Club der Oligarchen. Europa hatte noch nie eine Demokratie."
#Grenzkontrollen nur Makulatur – #Bundesregierung hintergeht deutsches Volk	9-17-15	AfD official	<a href="https://twitter.com/AfD/status/644509314389004288">https://twitter.com/AfD/status/644509314389004288</a>	36	32	"diesen Täuschen geht schon Jahre. Keinen juckt es." - "die nächsten Wahlen kommen ! 🇩🇪🇩🇪 #refugeesnotwelcome #AsyFlut #AsylInvasion" - "Das Schweinesystem wird einen Weg finden, die Wahlen zu fälschen!"
#Meuthen: Kapitulation des Rechtsstaats #Asyl	9-25-15	AfD official	<a href="https://twitter.com/AfD/status/647349610244120576">https://twitter.com/AfD/status/647349610244120576</a>	4	4	
#Meuthen: Jetzt geht es an die #Grundrechte	9-25-15	AfD official	<a href="https://twitter.com/AfD/status/647349879380029440">https://twitter.com/AfD/status/647349879380029440</a>	7	4	
#Petry: #Merkel setzt die Einheit der #EU endgültig aufs Spiel	9-25-15	AfD official	<a href="https://twitter.com/AfD/status/647350244821364736">https://twitter.com/AfD/status/647350244821364736</a>	6	6	
#Petry: Grundlegender Kurswechsel in der Ausländerpolitik!	9-25-15	AfD official	<a href="https://twitter.com/AfD/status/647400959572881408">https://twitter.com/AfD/status/647400959572881408</a>	15	19	
#Meuthen: „Der Stern der Angela #Merkel beginnt völlig zu Recht zu sinken“	8-29-15	AfD official	<a href="https://twitter.com/AfD/status/648830776117735425">https://twitter.com/AfD/status/648830776117735425</a>	20	24	"Aber erst bekommt sie den Friedensnobelpreis dafür das sie den Krieg nach Deutschland geholt hat." - "Merkel hat oder hatte wenigstens mal einen Höhenflug. Ihr seid für den Rest der Zeit unter der Grasnarbe."
#Nahles braucht weitere 4 Mrd. für Hartz IV. Mindestens. Grund: Steigende Zahl der Flüchtlinge*TT	8-31-15	@FraukePetry chair of party at time of events	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/638259471270215680">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/638259471270215680</a>	44	30	"dies wird lange nicht reichen. Die mrd der Krankenkassen sind auch schon aufgebraucht. Es muss weiter kochen! Es muss knallen!" - "Und #Merkel heute in der #SZ: "Wir schaffen das!" und damit meint sie natürlich uns, denn sie schafft nur #Flüchtlinge rein!" - "Tja, und wo kommende Milliarden her? Das sind erste Schätzzahlen und noch nicht das Ende" - "Wie ist ihre Einschätzung @FraukePetry kommt sowas wie Soli für #Flüchtlinge?"
Der Souverän ist noch immer das Volk... Wer definiert Nation neu ?	9-2-15	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/639036994652381184">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/639036994652381184</a>	38	29	"Sorgen Sie dafür, dass dieses Unrecht endlich aufhört. #Flüchtlingspolitik #RechtaufHeimat" - "Anstatt ihnen Mut zu machen, ihre Heimat zu verteidigen, werden sie entwurzelt und verschaukelt. #Fluechtlinge" - "Ja, der Souverän ist das Volk. Und Volk ist immer noch etwas anderes als Bevölkerung." -
Chaotische Asylpolitik, angeblicher Fachkräftemangel. #Tillich streut wieder einmal den Bürgern Sand in die Augen*TT Die Nötigung der Semantik http://rolandtichy.de/gastbeitrag/fluechtlinge-die-diktatur-des-rettens/Arbeitsmigranten, Unterscheidung zw.(kurzfristig) Flüchtlingen und den (langfristig) Asylsuchenden	9-2-15	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/639040347281203201">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/639040347281203201</a>	33	35	"der Fachkräftemangel ist eine Lüge:" - "Märchen vom Fachkräftemangel. Dt. Dipl. Ing. -aber 56 Jahre- den will keine Fa. Asylanter It. DIHT 2/3 ohne Qualifikation." - "V"
	9-3-15	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/639393609364672512">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/639393609364672512</a>	5	10	"Kriegsflüchtlinge haben selbst nach unserer #Asyl-Farce automat. Anrecht, werden durch menschenfeindliches Dublin2 illegalisiert!"

Es ist unredlich u. auch fahrlässig, Menschen unter falschem Vorwand nach Deutschl. zu locken	9-5-15	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/640102470228774912">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/640102470228774912</a>	65	80	"Ich finde es Menschenverachtend und zwar in beide Richtungen. #Fluechtlinge" - "Es ist auch unredlich dem eigenen Volk notwendige Leistungen vorzuenthalten um sie anderen Voelkern zu schenken." - "Sie begreifen gar nichts oder provozieren. In Syrien ist Krieg, sehen Sie sich die Bilder an. Gehen Sie doch mal hin." - "Barmherzigkeit und christliche Nächstenliebe ist für Sie nur eine Höhle Phrase." - "In München Hbf wurden die ankommenden Refugees noch beklatscht und bejubelt Smirking face Mir fehlen die Worte..." -
Morgen #Bundespressekonferenz stellen wir unsere Herbstoffensive vor, gegen die Vogel-Strauß-Politik. Mut zum Handeln!	9-6-15	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/640444423306899456">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/640444423306899456</a>	25	22	"Ohje, da muss die ausgedünnte #AfD noch viel #Himschmalz investieren. Braunsumpfigkeit ist Braundumpfigkeit @SZ" -
Der Missbrauch des Asyl-u Sozialrechts wird unvermindert weitergehen	9-7-15	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/640794474097057792">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/640794474097057792</a>	63	58	"hinsichtlich falscher Pässe und d Massen an #Fluechtlingen DARF nur der #Asyl-antrag der Dt. Botschaft im Herkunftsland gelten!" - "Fühlen sich die Deutschen immer noch so schuldig, dass sie ihr Volk abschaffen wollen?" - "wieso Missbrauch erklären sie uns das was ist für die AfD Missbrauch?" - "Die Islamisierung Deutschlands wird Ihrem Volk ohne jeglichen Widerstand aufgezwungen. Unbegreiflich!" - "Sicher wird der Missbrauch weitergehen. Deshalb ist es besonders schade, dass es keine AfD mehr gibt."
#AfD #Herbstoffensive 1. Sofortige Sicherung aller nationalen Grenzen 2. Keine Asylanträge mehr in Dtschl. 3. 48h Std-Schnellverfahren *TT	9-7-15	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/640908239866056705">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/640908239866056705</a>	38	32	"Kriegsflüchtlingen helfen JA. Auf Dauer hier lassen NEIN." - "ie brauchen 1., 2. und 3. nicht, wenn man -endlich- die sogenannten "Bezüge" für Asylbewerber kürzen würde." - "Ja, man könnte davon träumen. Endl. Geld für Mütterchenrente, Elterngeld, Kigipersonal, Pflegnotstand. Aber Träume sind Schäume."
Dtschl. und EU stehen vor großen Herausforderungen! #AfD #Herbstoffensive 2015 zeigt wie's geht	9-7-15	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/641021060024930304">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/641021060024930304</a>	22	24	"Vielen Dank, dass Sie denkenden Menschen einen kurzen Einblick in die völkischen Abgründe der Rest-AfD bieten!" - "Die Rest-EU hat nur 1 Herausforderung - sich zu drücken. U. das tut sie mit großem Erfolg. Warum nicht, war Merkels Entscheidung."
Guten Morgen #CSU, willkommen in der Realität! Jetzt nur noch die #AfD Forderungen umsetzen!	9-11-15	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/642238530551476224">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/642238530551476224</a>	65	57	"Es wird nichts so heiß gegessen wie es gekocht wird. Wenn d Herr von d Atlantikbrücke d so sagt, wird schon nichts passieren." - "Ihr könntet soviel Honig saugen aus dieser Situation! Verdammt! Positioniert Euch endlich mal!!" - "Merkel ist wie jemand, der per Facebook alle Welt einlädt und nachher jegliche Kontrolle über die Ereignisse verliert." - "kommen wir mit diesen Plakaten weiter? Es müssen ganz schnell Lösungen her, sonst lösen es andere"
Wir schaffen das.. sonst scheitert EU <a href="http://spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/innenminister-warnen-vor-noch-mehr-fluechtlingen-a-1052575.html">http://spiegel.de/politik/deutschland/innenminister-warnen-vor-noch-mehr-fluechtlingen-a-1052575.html</a> Sagt wer? Und wer ist WIR? <a href="https://facebook.com/Dr.Frauke.Petry/posts/984603564925624:0">https://facebook.com/Dr.Frauke.Petry/posts/984603564925624:0</a>	9-12-15	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/642618474645331968">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/642618474645331968</a>	50	33	"Das schafft #Merkel genauso, wie die Schuldenkrise in der EU. Jeder Satz von ihr bedeutet das Gegenteil." - "Der #Paritätische in Hessen mit einem Brandbrief über Vergewaltigungen in #Asyl-Heimen. Frauen+Kinder sind Freiwild" - "Ich fühle mich von diesem Tanz um das goldene Kalb namens "alle Flüchtlinge willkommen" nicht angesprochen." - "Lügenbaronin #Merkel hat sich längst entlarvt. Deutschland zerfällt: Mehr Armut Schulden Chaos Überwachung Zensur." - "Wenn ihr keine Nazis wärt, hätte man mit Euch die EU vielleicht verhindern können!" "Dein Horizont scheint nicht gerade der Grösste zu sein, ansonsten würdest Du keinen solchen Mist schreiben!"
Merkels bekanntgewordene Forderung nach einem anderen DE ist ein Ausverkauf deutscher Interessen <a href="http://focus.de/politik/diverses/hauptstadt-petry-meuthen-csu-muss-endlich-konsequenzen-ziehen_id_4943916.html">http://focus.de/politik/diverses/hauptstadt-petry-meuthen-csu-muss-endlich-konsequenzen-ziehen_id_4943916.html</a>	9-13-15	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/643015584553304064">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/643015584553304064</a>	37	30	"langfristig führt das zu einem Vielvoelkerstaat mit deutscher Minderheit auf dem dt. Staatsgebiet" - "Eine HISTORISCHE FEHLENTScheidung durch unsere Bundesregierung .... der IS wird in Europe salonfähig gemacht..."
"...dass nicht alle Flüchtlinge unmittelbar VERWERTBAR sind..." ? Ist das nicht abstoßend u. beschämend, Frau Roth?	9-13-15	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/643052573583372289">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/643052573583372289</a>	107	107	"Fr. #Roth hat sich einfach verplappert. Es ist der Plan und es ist ihr von Beginn an bewusst." - "Schaut Euch doch diese graziöse Frau an. Sie fällt doch fast vom Fleische. Vermutlich hatte Sie Hunger." - ""Mengerle" - sagt doch alles: der ist doch aus einer ganz bestimmten Familie: recherchieren" - "bei Adolf hätten wir die verwertet mit Sicherheit und dann wären auch keine nachgekommen"
Merkels TschakaTschaka-Basta-Politik nötigt den Bürgern Gehorsam ab, mit fatalen Konsequenzen	9-17-15	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/644415746492207104">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/644415746492207104</a>	52	46	"Bitte ein bißchen mehr Verständnis für #Mutti Ihre Politik des Nichtstuns und Abwartens ist vollständig #alternativlos" - "tut sie das? Seltsame Interpretation! Gehen Sie nur weiter brüderlich mit Ihrem NPD "Volk" weiter auf die Straße!" - "wann begreift Merkel, dass es nicht um ihre Rolle im Geschichtsbuch geht, sondern um das zukünftige D."
Immer mehr Geringqualifizierte strömen nach Deutschland - immer mehr Flüchtlingen droht die Arbeitslosigkeit	9-18-15	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/644874437033132032">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/644874437033132032</a>	30	20	"das heißt? Die Kriminalität wird rasant steigen. Was da zu uns rein kommt ist eine sehr gefährliche Spirale." - "Warum erklärt denen niemand das die Mehrheit der Deutschen sie nicht hier will?!"

Wir starten die #Herbstoffensive hoffen auf sachliche Diskussionen u.eine nachhaltige positive Wende i.d.Politik *TT	9-18	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/644889896776302592">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/644889896776302592</a>	58	49	"Die sachliche Diskussion könnt Ihr schon vergessen. Dazu sind Linke, Grüne und der Rest doch gar nicht fähig." - "wenn schon Europa dann mit Viktor Orban als Ratspräsidenten und absoluten Vollmachten"
Kliniken schlagen Alarm:Sie wissen oft nicht,wer die medizinischen Kosten für Flüchtlinge erstattet <a href="http://zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2015-09/fluecthlinge-medizinische-versorgung-kostenuebernahme">http://zeit.de/politik/deutschland/2015-09/fluecthlinge-medizinische-versorgung-kostenuebernahme</a> Wer zahlt jetzt?	9-21-15	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/646078612953788416">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/646078612953788416</a>	52	32	"zahlen die für mich auch, wenn ich nicht mehr kann?_ NEIN!!!" - "keine Gesundheitskarte: die wird illegal weitergegeben - und der Mißbrauch noch größer..warum soll ich für diese zahl" - "Wer wohl? Dt. Arbeiter, Minirentner, jg. Familien, Flaschensammler, Zukunftsverlierer in ds. Land." - "Wie wär es denn, wenn die Politiker selber mal in die Tasche greifen würden und die Kosten übernehmen würden?"
Mitarbeiter einer #Aufnahmeeinrichtung sprach davon;Wohlstand istnicht gefährdet,schlimmer noch:eine Apokalypse in EU steht bevor #Asylchaos	9-23-15	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/646788074081353728">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/646788074081353728</a>	28	27	"die Befürchtungen hatten gestern viele Bürger in #neuenhagen" - "Apokalypse? Schon mal das Wort gegoogelt? Falls Weimarer Republik II: Hat die @AfD_Bund genug Knarren?" -
Asyl-Gesetzespaket ist wieder nur hektische Flickschusterei,aus AfD Forderungen, inkonsequente Pseudo-Maßnahme.Wie wärs mit #Aufnahmestopp ?	9-29-15	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/648848314939637760">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/648848314939637760</a>	36	35	"Damit soll nur so getan werden,als wenn sie was tun. #Merkel hat nicht vor die #Asyl-Flut zu stoppen! Andernfalls #aufnahmestop" - "ein fauler Kompromiss, der soll uns nur Sand in die Augen streuen. Wir bleiben dran." - "Liebe Frau Petry was halten Sie vom GG und dem Recht auf Asyl.Was passiert nach einem Aufnahmestop?"

## Appendix B.2 AfD – New Year's Eve

Text	Date	Account	Link	Retweets	Likes	Notable Replies (Text Only) ( <i>Italics are replies to the reply quoted immediately before</i> ) ( <b>Bold are further responses from o.g. account</b> )
Paul Hampel: #Merkel ist angezählt #merkelmussweg #Asylchaos	1-18-16	AfD official	<a href="https://twitter.com/AfD/status/689106200605118464">https://twitter.com/AfD/status/689106200605118464</a>	44	92	"niemand ist hier angezählt ! Selbst die Bild Zeitung macht sich über die CSU lustig : "Der knallharte Angriff der Wattestäbchen "" - "Absch. Marokkaner und Tunesier üb. Kurd. Terr. #Syrien in koop. mit Kurd. #YPG mögl.? Gegenl. Wiederaufbau. #Kobane" - "Merkel muss weg!! Bis es so weit ist wird Honeckers letzte Waffe noch viel kaputt machen!!!"
Weidel: Genug abGEZockt – Staatsender boykottieren, #AfD wählen! #Elefantenrunde	1-20-16	AfD official	<a href="https://twitter.com/AfD/status/689833668743938049">https://twitter.com/AfD/status/689833668743938049</a>	91	136	"zahle schon lange nicht mehr. #Lueckenpresse #GEZ. Gibt ja keine rechtliche Grundlage dafür. #heimatundrecht" - "Bislang inhaltlich nicht überzeugend, populistisch und ohne Abgrenzung gegen Rechtsextremismus. Selbst auf Regionalebene nicht gut" - "Weiter so!Kämpft weiter fürs Deutsche Volk!Danke!"
#Gauland: Jetzt zeigt auch #Österreich wie es geht	1-20-16	AfD official	<a href="https://twitter.com/AfD/status/689835228832124930">https://twitter.com/AfD/status/689835228832124930</a>	47	95	"Wir müssen die Flüchtlingskrise als das begreifen was sie ist, nämlich eine Völkerwanderung! AfD!" - "Vorschlag an die Partei: Geht auf die griech. Inseln und schützt aktiv selbst die EU-Außengrenze." - "Wien hat Obergrenze beschlossen #Asyl" - "Gauland redet demagogisches Blech. Die AfD Wähler werden verdummt. Österreich sendet gezielt Flüchtlinge in die BRD." - "Ihr freut euch schon wenn Österreich auf Flüchtlinge schießen lässt, dann könnt ihr das ohne schlechtes Gewissen fordern. Toll." - "Vollkommen richtig @AfD_Bund. Die Geschichte hat uns ja gelehrt, dass die Österreicher immer die geistlichen politischen Ideen haben!" "Oder Du meinst es ironisch, dann find ich's gut... Ist mein Ironiedetektor defekt?" "Es ist pure Ironie. Dein Detektor hatte einen kleinen Fehler" -
Das, was die #AfD bereits seit Monaten für unsere Grenzen fordert, wird dort umgesetzt.	1-4-16	@FraukePetry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/684029794925850624">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/684029794925850624</a>	119	160	"Na die müssen sich halt vor der Irren schützen, aber wer schützt uns vor der ?" - "steht also für die Einschränkungen der Reisefreiheit. Da lacht Honecker." - "Die Deutsche Grenze ist zum Glück nur minimal größer als die Dänische...sonst würde es fast populistisch klingen ;)"
Jeder kann "in eigener Verantwortung entscheiden", sagte @RegSprecher <a href="http://faz.net/aktuell/politik/fluechtlinge-daenemark-fuehrt-passkontrollen-an-deutscher-grenze-ein-13996460.html">http://faz.net/aktuell/politik/fluechtlinge-daenemark-fuehrt-passkontrollen-an-deutscher-grenze-ein-13996460.html</a> DEU Verantwortungslos?	1-4-16	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/684032614307631104">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/684032614307631104</a>	106	132	"Tja das hat Einstein ja schon festgestellt... das mit der Dummheit....:-)" - "wieso sollte es verantwortungslos sein das es an deutschen Grenzen keine Grenzkontrollen gibt ?" "Am besten Sie begeben sich mal aus Ihren Paralleluniversum in die Realität" - "ich hoffe, dass dieses Volk endlich wach wird und bei der nächsten Wahl die Verbrecher aus Berlin rausschmeißt"
Von wessen Einschränkung der Reisefreiheit&Freizügigkeit spricht #Steinmeier hier eigentlich? <a href="http://wirtschaft.com/steinmeier-sorgt-sich-um-reisefreiheit-in-der-eu/">http://wirtschaft.com/steinmeier-sorgt-sich-um-reisefreiheit-in-der-eu/</a> ..die der Islamisten?	1-5-16	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/684301701638152192">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/684301701638152192</a>	37	59	"na klar, wir sind das Land der Terror-Schläfer, in kein zivilisiertes Land der Welt kann man so leicht rein und raus" - "dafür offene Grenzen gepflegt + natürlich auch Gesinnungsoportunismus, unsere Politiker sind durch Islam-Schurken korrumpiert" - "Wissen diese Deppen überhaupt was Masse ist ? Klares NEIN !" - "Europa richtet Grenzkontrollen ein. Es betrifft uns Alle. Bitte bleiben Sie sachlich, Sie/sie haben jetzt eine einmalige Chance!!" -
Frau #Merkel stellen Sie d. Sicherheit&Ordnung in Deutschland wieder her! <a href="https://facebook.com/Dr.Frauke.Petry/posts/1040372092682104">https://facebook.com/Dr.Frauke.Petry/posts/1040372092682104</a> Grenzen Schließen!	1-5-16	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/684310461819523072">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/684310461819523072</a>	259	339	"Polizei darf nur Straftäter schützen in Bananenrepublik" - "wo ist Ihr Post nach den 800 Übergriffen auf Flüchtlingsunterkünfte?" - "da ist doch nicht wirklich was passiert. Die Frauen sollen sich nicht so anstellen. Einzelfälle, ohne Belang." - "behinderte Nazi-Schlampe!" - "sie machen es der Welt aber echt leicht, die AfD nur schlecht zu finden! Was für ein sinnfreier& unpolitischer Tweet!" "und wer bist ? Du SPD schlampe ! Sieht man ja was wir von euch haben ! Wir brauchen neuen Wind" - "Oder glauben sie, dass Flüchtlinge uns nicht weiterbringen werden? Unser heutiger Wohlstand basiert auf Migration." - "was glauben sie, wollen EinwandererInnen finden? Sicherheit oder Unsicherheit? Konsum oder Konsumverweigerung?" - "Sobald die Täter nicht mehr aus dem persönl Umfeld kommen, sondern der böse schwarze Mann sind, sorgen Sie sich um Sexismus?!"

Heiko Maas: "Kölner Übergriffe nicht mit Flüchtlingsthema verbinden"  http://m.abendblatt.de/politik/article206887573/Koelner-Uebergriffe-nicht-mit-Fluechtlingsthema-verbinden.html Nein, keine Sorge! Wir verbinden das mit Ihnen	1-5-16	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/684538501740793857">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/684538501740793857</a>	239	340	"folgen der falschen Toleranz und Merkels Flüchtlingschaos in einem Bild." - "Wer hat diese Vorfälle verschwiegen+relativiert? Was wäre denn Deiner Ideologie nach angemessen? Alle Asylanten/Ausländer raus?" - "Fr Petry, verstehen Sie nicht? Herr Maas hat Sie als Hinterfrau der sexuellen Übergriffe von #KoelnHbf überführt. [/Ironie off]" -
Von ca. 170 auf 379! Zahl d. Strafanzeigen nach Kölner Silvesternacht drastisch gestiegen http://focus.de/regional/koeln/von-rund-170-auf-379-zahl-der-strafanzeigen-nach-koelner-silvesternacht-drastisch-gestiegen_id_5199384.html Noch Fragen? #merklemussweg	1-9-16	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/685958116794576896">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/685958116794576896</a>	69	80	"Und die kranke Verharmlosung in den Medien geht schon los. Siehe Focus, Spiegel ..und der Staatsfunk wie immer ganz vorne."
Was wir doch längst wussten! Aber wenn wir als AfD das sagen, dann sind wir was? http://m.focus.de/politik/deutschland/sc-hweikekartell-bei-der-polizei-polizist-strikte-anweisung-ueber-vergehen-von-fluechtlings-nicht-zu-berichten_id_5199256.html Wie wäre es denn mit -NICHT JEDEN- ins Land zu locken? http://ln.is/www.sueddeutsche.de/rR7Nq Konsequentes Einreiserecht! Souveränität unserer	1-10-16	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/686116058462302208">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/686116058462302208</a>	84	97	"Ihr gebt den Opfern von Jungen Alternativen Hatefuckern und Sexisten eine Stimme @FraukePetry? Soll das ein Witz sein? #AfD" - " schon etwas komisch in D-land, wer die Wahrheit sagt, wird diffamiert und beschimpft! Beispiel AfD" - "Zum Glück wehren sich da genügend intelligente Frauen gegen! Die wollen nicht von Ihnen instrumentalisiert werden!" -
Wie wäre es denn mit -NICHT JEDEN- ins Land zu locken? http://ln.is/www.sueddeutsche.de/rR7Nq Konsequentes Einreiserecht! Souveränität unserer	1-13-16	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/687229538795958272">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/687229538795958272</a>	45	84	"Das fragen Sie doch mal die USA Puffmutter Merkel sie trägt an den Kölner Vergewaltigungen Mitschuld" - "Anstatt bei einer Überschwemmung den Wasserhahn zuzudrehen, öffnen wir die Tür in der Hoffnung das Wasser läuft schneller ab."
Flüchtlinge gelten als größtes Risiko für die Welt http://ln.is/www.welt.de/wirtscha/AWV4T Klimawandel?  Braucht es Wertewandel oder Grundwerte Erhalt?	1-14-16	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/687669631377633284">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/687669631377633284</a>	42	59	"Risiko, das von Flüchtlingen ausgeht, wird durch Aussperren bestimmt nicht kleiner. Bezug zu Grundwerten?(Schreibweise!)" - "Was haben Flüchtlinge mit dem Klimawandel zu tun?" - "Was sind Werte? Wenn wir von "Einigkeit, Recht + Freiheit" ausgehen, so tritt #Merkel d. Einigkeit voll ins Gesicht! #Migranten" - "Im weitesten Sinne wird es auch ohne globale Erwärmung zum einem drastischen Klimawechsel in Deutschland kommen." - "Natürlich! Das ist so. Flüchtlinge sind die größte Gefahr für den Weltfrieden!"
"Ein Ende der Flüchtlingswellen ist überhaupt nicht in Sicht" http://n-tv.de/politik/Landrat-schickt-Fluechtlinge-mit-Bus-zu-Merkel-article16766546.html #Merkel machen Sie Platz! #AfD	1-15-16	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/687966988635877377">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/687966988635877377</a>	166	200	"Wie sollte das auch ein Ende haben? In den Ländern müssten sie arbeiten und hier kriegen sie alles in den Arsch!" - "Und dann waren sie mit 31 Flüchtlingen heillos überfordert." - "nennen SIE doch mal Lösungen, anstatt populistische Tweets!! Wie lösen SIE die Probleme ohne geltendes Recht zu verstoßen?" <b>"Ganz einfach. Indem die Bundesregierung endlich die bestehenden Gesetze einhält und strikt umsetzt. Territoriale Integrität!"</b> - "Es handelt sich um MIGRANTENWELLEN, die #Merkel eingeladen hat. Flüchtlinge wären handhabbare, kleinere Untermenge." -
3.000 Migranten pro Tag über die bayerische Grenze und CSU droht Merkel mit Verfassg. Gericht https://facebook.com/Dr.Frauke.Petry/p/osts/1046499248736055:0	1-16-16	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/688428992328810496">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/688428992328810496</a>	232	277	"die CSU droht viel, macht nix!!! Wo sind integrierte Muslime, die Ihren Landsleuten klare Worte sagen?!" - "Man merkt, das bald Wahlen sind. Aber den Tsunami aufhalten wird trotzdem keiner von denen." - "Frau Petry, das deutsche Volk steht hinter Ihnen, retten sie unser Vaterland" -
Wer ist eigentlich Flüchtling? https://facebook.com/Dr.Frauke.Petry/p/osts/1047477311971582 Seit wann gibt es Familien nachzug für illegale Einwanderer?	1-18-16	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/689095344727150593">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/689095344727150593</a>	267	300	"man vergleiche mit der Zeit vor dem 2. Weltkrieg. Verblüffende Parallelen...." - "Flüchtling ist der, der aus Politischer Verfolgung flieht, oder "nur" aus Verfolgung bzw. Krieg." - "Meine Oma ist ein Flüchtling - 1945 aus Ostpreussen. Sie würde sich im Grabe umdrehen, wenn sie das hier lesen würde!!!!" -
Artikel 16a aussetzen. Wir sind nicht mehr Herr im eigenen Land! http://ln.is/m.focus.de/politik/d/mGNvh #sprachlos	1-20-16	Frauke Petry	<a href="https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/689747867234390016">https://twitter.com/FraukePetry/status/689747867234390016</a>	102	154	"Stimmt...., und setzt gleich die Bundesregierung vor die Tür, wegen der absolut verfehlten Asylpolitik!" - "Die Nazijacke haben Sie sich selbst angezogen. Wer weiß warum?" - "Sie sind eher nicht mehr Herr Ihres eigenen Verstandes! So viel kann ich gar nicht fressen, wie ich da kotzen will! #AfD"

## Appendix C.1 Pegida – Opening of Borders

Text	Date	Account	Link	Retweets	Likes	Notable Replies (Text Only) (Italics are replies to the reply quoted immediately before) (Bold are further responses from o.g. account)
(Link to facebook post) Graphic that says: Die meisten Menschen sehen nur die Spitze des Eisberges. Nur wenige, die etwas tiefer tauchen, sehen, dass der Eisberg groesser ist, als vermutet. Aber nur diejenigen, die richtig tief tauchen, wie alle Teilnehmer bei PEGIDA, erkennen, wie gross die Gefahr wirklich ist. Und die Regierung haelt mit Volldampf auf den Eisberg zu, die Kapelle spielt weiter und die Naivmenschen singen und klatschen dazu.	9-1-15	A	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/638798234870239232">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/638798234870239232</a>	6	7	
Asylpolitik: Schulungsmaterial für Redaktionsvolontäre der deutschen Qualitäts-Lügenpresse. (graphic)	9-2-15	A	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/639162558650425345">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/639162558650425345</a>	6	3	
Ansehen! Wahnsinn..... (with link to video about migrants arriving from Grece)	9-2-15	A	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/639166450138267649">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/639166450138267649</a>	4	2	
Schleuser-Kriminalität Deutscher Zoll findet Pakete mit syrischen Pässen Viktor Orban hat Recht! Graphic: Widerstand gegen eine Voelkerwanderung ist ein legitimer Akt der Selbsterhaltung. Linke Naivmenschen beklagen stets die Vernichtung von Kulturen und Zivilisationen in der Vergangenheit, aber sind unfaeelig oder nicht willens, einen Transfer der Erfahrungen aus der Geschichte auf die Gegenwart zu leisten.	9-3-15	A	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/639369110321766400">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/639369110321766400</a>	2	1	
	9-3-15	A	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/639424716789415936">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/639424716789415936</a>	5	4	"wollt ihr 800.000 Menschen sterben lassen ?"
Zu eurer Info, verbreiten, Gegenöffentlichkeit herstellen! #PEGIDA #GrenzenSichern #AufDieStraße	9-5-15	A	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/640180442986119172">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/640180442986119172</a>	3	2	"Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge. Solche Massen sind nur mit Waffengewalt aufzuhalten. Wir werden überrannt."
#PEGIDA @ #Dresden 07.09.2015 10.000 Patrioten auf der Straße - 10K patriots meeting!	9-7-15	A	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/640997562070245376">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/640997562070245376</a>	29	18	"Irgendwann wird Pegida verboten, weil die millionenfache "Willkommenskultur" absoluten VORRANG HAT!"
#PEGIDA @ #Dresden In Bewegung- on the move! --- > more pics	9-7-15	A	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/640998292877348864">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/640998292877348864</a>	17	11	
#Pegida @ #Dresden Abschlußkundgebung - End of rally ---> Mehr Bilder More pics	9-8-15	A	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/641168684145360896">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/641168684145360896</a>	4	4	
Klartext - Straight talking! (with article linked: Le Pen: Deutschland sieht in Fluechtligen 'Sklaven')	9-8-15	A	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/641173480948518912">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/641173480948518912</a>	2	1	
Man darf gespannt sein, was die Politikdarsteller versuchen, als Begründung zu verwenden (Quote tweet of: "Irgendwann wird Pegida verboten, weil die millionenfache "Willkommenskultur" absoluten VORRANG HAT!")	9-8-15	A	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/641208160859095041">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/641208160859095041</a>	3	3	"die Freude der Luegenpresse verebbt so schnell wie sie gekommen ist. Die Mehrheit ist gg.den Zuzug der Asylanter"



10 Forderungen an die deutsche Asylpolitik + English version (Graphic: Die 10 PEGIDA Forderungen an die deutsche Asylpolitik! The 10 PEGIDA demands to the german asylum politics!)	9-10-15	A	@OFFICIAL_PEGID	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/642042604775976960">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/642042604775976960</a>	4	3	"Für die Dinge die jetzt besprochen und teilweise umgesetzt werden wurden ihr doch von den #Piraten als #Nazis bezeichnet?" - "lasst uns kämpfen Leute"
Eventuell hat ja der eine oder andere noch kein Ziel für den Sonntagsausflug..... #Merkel in #Leipzig	9-20-15	A	@OFFICIAL_PEGID	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/645551282946707456">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/645551282946707456</a>	2	1	
#Journaille #Lügenpresse #mundaufmachen #Rotfunk Angebliche Übergriffe auf "Schüler" frei erfunden --->	9-23-15	A	@OFFICIAL_PEGID	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/646615301933633536">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/646615301933633536</a>	6	4	"#pegida ist vorbildlich. Der einzige Poebler ist der Alte mit der Mütze. " - "Aber wenn's in der SZ und in der MOPO steht, MUSS es doch wahr sein! ^^ #Lügenpresse" "es gibt Augenzeugenberichte und das Kultusministerium hat extra eine Pressemitteilung rausgegeben." - "Und wieder fallen die dummen Gutmenschen darauf rein und ignorieren alle Argumente. Aber was will man erwarten von denen" - "und die gesamte Lügenpresse veröffentlicht das ohne zu
"Bundeswehr Leak`s", teilen, verbreiten.	9-25-15	A	@OFFICIAL_PEGID	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/647439532309250048">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/647439532309250048</a>	10	6	"eine absolute Schweinerei"



## Appendix C.2 Pegida – New Year's Eve

Text	Date	Account	Link	Retweets	Likes	Notable Replies (Text Only) ( <i>Italics are replies to the reply quoted immediately before</i> ) ( <b>Bold</b> are further responses from o.g. account)
Graphic: PEGIDA wuenscht allen patrioten einen guten Rutsch ins Jahr 2016	12-31-15	@OFFICIAL_PE GIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/682608090311602176">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/682608090311602176</a>	20	34	
Mit Verlaub gesagt, dieser Stegner ist schon ein richtiges Stegner. :-) Aber naja, ist halt ein Sozi.(Quote of: Ausgeburt kranker Hirne.Ich fürchte allerdings,dass es dafür keine geeignete Medikation gibt. Ansteckung verhindern!)	1-1-16	@OFFICIAL_PE GIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/682919686472859649">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/682919686472859649</a>	1	8	"Wo genau liegt @Ralf_Stegner falsch? Wortwahl, Aussage etc.? 8 Erläuterung wäre nett."
#PEGIDA #InformiertEuch #InformiertAndere #Dresden #Islamisierung (graphic: Muslimanteil 1% "Wir sind eine Religione des Friedens" Muslimanteil 5-15% "Wir fordern Sonderrechte! Moscheen! Halal-Food! Gebetsraeume!" Muslimanteil >50% "KONVERTIERE ODER STIRB!")	1-1-16	@OFFICIAL_PE GIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/682940261186547713">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/682940261186547713</a>	15	24	"DTL beherbergt inzw 85 Mio EW,davon 35 Mio Migr inkl Hintergr u gut 8.5 Mio #Muslime.Andere Zahlen=System-#LÜGE" - "Eine frage habt ihr nur was gegen den Islam oder generell gegen Ausländer?" - "Stimmt, so sagen es bspw die älteren #Schwaben, doch dies mögen #Muselmanen gar nicht!"
Muslime fordern Poco-Boycott - wegen Fußmatte	1-1-16	@OFFICIAL_PE GIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/682959136955494402">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/682959136955494402</a>	4	11	"wenn poco eine moslemfreie Zone würde, hätte ich nichts dagegen einzuwenden." -
600 000 abgelehnte Asylbewerber (Graphic: Abflug/departure/(arabic))	1-1-16	@OFFICIAL_PE GIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/683003010394517510">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/683003010394517510</a>	22	26	
Streit über Gebetspause – 190 Muslime werden rausgeworfen	1-2-16	@OFFICIAL_PE GIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/683264398790639616">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/683264398790639616</a>	10	15	"Wie viele Stunden am Tag hassen Sie eigentlich?" <i>"Fulltimejob Hass Schlümpfe aus Sachsen.."</i> - "LÜGENPRESSE...LÜGENPRESSE...LÜGE NPRESSE... Haben die Retter des Abendlandes keine eigene Presse?"
Genau, deshalb fordern #pegida und die AfD Wähler auch die direkte Demokratie, die Volksabstimmung auf Bundesebene.	1-2-16	@OFFICIAL_PE GIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/683283508207443968">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/683283508207443968</a>	7	11	
Nun kommen auch Migranten aus Marokko und Algerien ---> Marokko empfängt ca. 10 Mio Touristen im Jahr.	1-2-16	@OFFICIAL_PE GIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/683294351359881216">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/683294351359881216</a>	24	19	"Hier herrscht :."Welcome" für jeden der bunt und islam ist! Noch nicht kapiert?" - "Jede legale Abweisung vor Einreise würde 10.000de € sparen, da Asylmissbrauch wahrscheinlich. Unverständlich!" - "das ist doch logisch, jetzt wo wir so viele übergesunde Fachkräfte haben brauchen wir doch auch Azubis!" - "In Marokko machen unsere Asylbewerber 1x oder 2x im Jahr Urlaub!"
Saudi Barbarier sind Sunniten (Hanbaliten, Wahhabiten), sie meinen vielleicht Schiiten? Manche Menschen waren als Kind schon so #Güllner, dass sie sich nur zu richtig großen #Stegners entwickeln konnten.	1-2-16	@OFFICIAL_PE GIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/683330515462696960">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/683330515462696960</a>			
Wenn Seehofers Hirscht 200.000 Plätze im Jahr in der Sozialindustrie frei hat, dann viel Spaß damit in #Bayern, wir gönnen gern.	1-3-16	@OFFICIAL_PE GIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/683608313305628672">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/683608313305628672</a>	12	12	
Seehofers Beruhigungsspillen ---> <a href="http://einwanderungskritik.de/seehofers-beruhigungsspillen/">http://einwanderungskritik.de/seehofers-beruhigungsspillen/</a> #PEGIDA #SchaumschlägerHorst #PlaceboHorst #Grenzendicht #informierteuch	1-3-16	@OFFICIAL_PE GIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/683657712928976897">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/683657712928976897</a>	7		"...ich fange nur noch an zu lachen wenn ich diesen "schaumschläger" sehe...#Merkels 6 "Bettvorleger"
Polen weist Kritik der EU zurück: "Wir wollen unseren Staat lediglich heilen	1-3-16	@OFFICIAL_PE GIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/683715453198413824">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/683715453198413824</a>	20	19	"Ja genau. Und Hitler wollte seinen Staat auch lediglich "säubern" - "Polen heilen in dem sie es vergifte? Ich bin kein Arzt aber das ist ungesund für die Pressefreiheit in Polen."
Der RTL WEST Kommentar zu den Übergriffen am Kölner Hauptbahnhof (with link)	1-5-16	@OFFICIAL_PE GIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/684335751719481344">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/684335751719481344</a>	5		"wieso sind diese unglaublichen Verbrechen plötzlich in den Mainstreammedien? In Kürze Statement von Maas. N24 :)" - "informieren 4 heißt Pegida hassen #niedermidtemazipest"
Das #Maasmännchen in der PK tut ahnungslos und überrascht. Soll mal in England, Schweden oder Frankreich nachfragen. #pegida #koelnhbf	1-5-16	@OFFICIAL_PE GIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/684339289610686464">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/684339289610686464</a>	17	26	

Wenn das #Maasmännchen den "Organisator" von #koelnhbf sucht, das könnte so ein Buch aus dem 7. Jh. sein.....	1-5-16	@OFFICIAL_PEGIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/684340093902057472">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/684340093902057472</a>	4	9	
Faszinierend, wie alle #Politikerdarsteller die gleichen, politisch korrekten Textbausteine verwenden. #pegida #koelnhbf #aufschrei	1-5-16	@OFFICIAL_PEGIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/684350076949544962">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/684350076949544962</a>	13	16	
Alice Schwarzer zu Köln: Das sind die Folgen der falschen Toleranz (Graphic with quote: "Ein Kölner Polizist hat mir kuerzlich erzählt, siebzig oder achtzig Prozent der Vergewaltigungen in Koeln wurden von tuerken veruebt. Ich habe ihn gefragt: Warum sagen Sie das nicht, damit wir an die Wurzeln des Problems gehen koennen? Er antwortete: das duerfen wir ja nicht, Frau Schwarzer, das gilt als Rassismus." Alice Schwarzer in der 'Weltwoche' 4.12.2003"	1-5-16	@OFFICIAL_PEGIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/684454213154422785">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/684454213154422785</a>	30	33	"irgendetwas aus dem Jahr 2003 zu Posten und mit den Geschehnissen von Köln in Verbindung zu bringen, sehr interessant..." - "achtzig Prozent der Probleme der Türken wurden von der Polizei verursacht u.a Racial Profiling. Merkt ihr was ?!" - "Nächste #Flüchtlingswelle läuft: Marokkaner und Algerier kommen" -
#PEGIDA #InformiertEuch #Rapefugees #KrimigrantenRaus #Dresden #Aufschrei #Armlaenge #ArmlaengeAbstand #koelnhbf (Graphic: Eine Armlaenge Distanz halten, schuetzt nicht vor sexuellen und sonstigen Uebergriffen, eine Mittelmeerbreite dagegen schon!)	1-6-16	@OFFICIAL_PEGIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/684697540411916289">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/684697540411916289</a>	63	83	"super. Sagt das mal den Tausenden Frauen und Mädchen die in diesem Land von DEUTSCHEN missbraucht werden. Die freuen sich!" - "Diese Antwort könnte einige aus der Regierung verwirren!"
Gute Besserung an unser #Maasmännchen. Gerüchten zufolge, wird die Polizei ihre Waffen abgeben. Eine Armlänge Distanz reicht zum Selbstschutz aus.	1-6-16	@OFFICIAL_PEGIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/684729463528144897">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/684729463528144897</a>	8	10	"wegen seiner Größe, wurde er versehentlich auf der Kinderstation eingeliefert ☺" - "Und was sollen die angegriffenen Frauen machen? Dank an unsere unfähigen Politiker!"
Mr. "22.5 - 24%" #Pöbelralle wieder. :-). Aber wir stimmen zu, es ist nur heiße Luft von der #CSU.	1-6-16	@OFFICIAL_PEGIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/684731425980039168">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/684731425980039168</a>	9	10	
Wenn ihr über #KoelnHBF diskutiert, denkt immer daran, Politik und Medien wollten diesen Diskurs AKTIV verhindern!	1-6-16	@OFFICIAL_PEGIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/684768469817126913">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/684768469817126913</a>	3	6	
Wenn ihr über #KoelnHBF diskutiert, denkt immer daran, Politik und Medien wollten diesen Diskurs AKTIV verhindern!	1-6-16	@OFFICIAL_PEGIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/684780586410586112">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/684780586410586112</a>	36	34	"Davon gehe ich aus! Bei 10 sog. Rechten bebt das Netz nach 10 Minuten, nicht nach 5 Tagen!" - "Tinfoil hats on, ihr Vollidioten." -
:-) #Pöbelralle, der stellv. Bundesvorsitzender der SPD, war mal wieder ohne Aufsicht.	1-7-16	@OFFICIAL_PEGIDA	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/685058964644560896">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/685058964644560896</a>	3	9	"Pegidioten: Verrohung der Sprache - Spaltung der Gesellschaft"
Sabatina James: Nach "Sexijihad" in Köln Bürgermeisterin ruft zur Einhaltung der Scharia auf!	1-7-16		<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/685079302212288512">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/685079302212288512</a>	8	10	
Polizei #Köln "Die meisten waren frisch eingereiste Asylbewerber" <a href="http://welt.de/politik/deutschland/article150735341/Die-meisten-waren-frisch-ingereiste-Asylbewerber.html">http://welt.de/politik/deutschland/article150735341/Die-meisten-waren-frisch-ingereiste-Asylbewerber.html</a> #pegida #informierteuch #kölnistbunt	1-7-16	PEGIDA official	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/685113483474681856">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/685113483474681856</a>	12	5	"Während Merkel sich Silvester den Champus schmecken ließ, sind Frauen um ihr Leben gelaufen. Schuld ist Merkel" -
Denkt daran, was wir erleben, ist kein Terror nur gegen Frauen, sie sind nur die ersten Opfer!	1-7-16	PEGIDA official	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/685135017656365056">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/685135017656365056</a>	10	10	"ja genau. Weil jeder die Opis von Pegida anfassen will"
Alice Schwarzer zu Pegida: "Anti-Islamisten sind keine Fremdenfeinde"	1-8-16	PEGIDA official	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/685466223623172096">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/685466223623172096</a>	52	56	"Alice Schwarzer ist ja nun nicht unbedingt als ehrlich bekannt. Erwinnere nur an ihr tolles #Rechtsempfinden bei Steuern." - "PEGIDA DRESDEN ist die friedliche stimme des VOLKES"
Frau Scho-Antwerpes ist ja sowas von #Stegner, mehr als #Augstein und #GöringEckardt zusammen. #pegida #absurdistan (Graphic that says: Zitate Aus Der Irrenanstalt, Ueber die Massensexualverbrechen in Koeln: "Wir muessen darauf achten, dass Rechte diese Geschehnisse nicht fuer Hetze ausnutzen und Gewalt schueren. Leider ueberwiegen die negativen Reaktionen zu den Vorkommnissen die positiven." - Elfi Scho-Antwerpes (SPD))	1-8-16	PEGIDA official	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/685495831408033792">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/685495831408033792</a>	9	18	"Positive Reaktion auf Köln? Es hat sich wohl mindestens eines der Opfer für's Befummeln bedankt?" - "Rechts ist man ja schon dann, wenn man so einen Schwachsinn nicht nachplappert." - "Da kann sie lange 'drauf achten'" - ".....welche 'positiven Reaktionen' hat sie dann bei solchen widerlichen Vorfällen erwartet? Einfach krank!" - "Sehr witzig noch so ein Spast...was erwartet er positive Reaktionen" - "was gibt es denn positives an Vergewaltigungen und Demütigungen in der Silvesternacht#Köln#Stuttgart...???"
Auf nach Brüssel... (picture of three men)	1-9-16	PEGIDA official	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/685689157650411521">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/685689157650411521</a>	16	40	"oh...ihr trefft euch mit den ganzen rechtspopulistischen/rechtsextremen Parteien Europa. Na dann, viel Spaß:)" -
#JägerMussWeg #LaschetMussWeg #KraftMussWeg (link to t-online.de article)	1-10-16	PEGIDA official	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/686213640949661697">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/686213640949661697</a>	22	19	"und dann gehts mit neuen Marionetten gerade so weiter! Solange wir uns spalten lassen gibt es keine Veränderung. Schade :(" - Image that says: "Du bist kein Nazi nur weil du zu PEGIDA gehst oder AfD wählst" - "Hallo von Frankreich ! Wir sind mit Ihnen. Merkel soll austreten. Sie kann nicht gegen Völker allein entscheiden." - "Ich sage nicht,dass Volker Beck ein warmer Bruder ist,der weiß, wie er sich von hinten nach vorne durcharbeitet;)" - " #Deutschland hat zwei mal ganz #Europa verwüstet. Jetzt folgt der dritte Streich! . Siehe #1930er Jahre."
Werte Beamte, druckt doch immer mal was aus auf Arbeit und lasst es irgendwo liegen. :-)	1-11-16	PEGIDA official	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/686541357792538625">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/686541357792538625</a>	16	15	

#PEGIDA #ZeugenGesucht #InformiertEuch #InformiertAndere Vergewaltigung in Dresden Gorbitz, Zeugen gesucht!	1-15-16	PEGIDA official	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/688013265918668800">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/688013265918668800</a>	11		"Danke #Merkel für die Kulturbereicherung durch diese #Krimigranten! ☹️ #abmerkeln 8 #Merkelmussweg #Neuwahlen"
Sehr gutes Gespräch mit HC Strache und Johann Gudenus! Danke für die Gastfreundschaft! #PEGIDA #HCStrache #FPÖ	1-16-16	PEGIDA official	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/688399796839776256">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/688399796839776256</a>	17	32	
			<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/689120129532227586">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/689120129532227586</a>	17	15	Los geht's! ☹️ #Pegida Bin gleich unterwegs! #abmerkeln #AufdieStrasseueberall #Dresdenzeitwiesgeht image: "der Fels in der Brandung PEGIDA + buergerbewegungen" on picture of tall rock in the ocean
Livestream #PEGIDA @ #Dresden 18.01.2016	1-181-16	PEGIDA official	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/689568827303137280">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/689568827303137280</a>	1	4	
Einen BRUTUS, wir brauchen einen BRUTUS! :-) http://wiedenroth-karikatur.de Wie der politische Diskurs in der BRD funktioniert. Image of man with IQ=210 shirt "Die Politik der offenen Grenzen ist rechtswidrig, die Zuwanderung insoweit illegal! Other person: IQ=60 "RECHTER SHREIHALS!DUMPFBACKE!"	1-19-16	PEGIDA official	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/689571048807886849">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/689571048807886849</a>	18	19	"Lustige Sichtweise, wenn man an die enorm hohe Konzentration von Rechtschreibfehlern in PEGIDA-Kommentaren auf FB denkt :-D"
Gegendemo zu #PEGIDA Geistig arme, gesellschaftlich abgehängte Gestalten, irgendwie traurig.....	1-20-16	PEGIDA official	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/689774212609884160">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/689774212609884160</a>	8	15	"dumme Kinder"
Die Lawine kommt ins Rollen ---> <a href="https://facebook.com/pegida.daebritz/posts/637337069737373?pnref=story">https://facebook.com/pegida.daebritz/posts/637337069737373?pnref=story</a>	1-22-16	PEGIDA official	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/690533020810485760">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/690533020810485760</a>	2	5	
Bayernkurier (CSU) "Afrikas Vergewaltiger im Hohen Norden" ---> <a href="https://facebook.com/pegida.daebritz/posts/639119319559148?pnref=story">https://facebook.com/pegida.daebritz/posts/639119319559148?pnref=story</a> #pegida #rapejihad #informierteuch #festungeuropa	1-27-16	PEGIDA official	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/692416392499445761">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/692416392499445761</a>	5	4	
"Studie: Ostdeutschland soll mit Asylanten besiedelt werden" Äääähm..... nö! ---> <a href="https://facebook.com/pegida.daebritz/posts/639123136225433?pnref=story">https://facebook.com/pegida.daebritz/posts/639123136225433?pnref=story</a>	1-27-16	PEGIDA official	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/692416878409555968">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/692416878409555968</a>	10	14	
Nein, das waren im großen Stil schon WIR, die #PEGIDA aus #DRESDEN! #WickertInformierDich	1-28-16	PEGIDA official	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/692747775830822915">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/692747775830822915</a>	7	13	"das Wort Lügenpresse ist ja auch so hol, dass es aus dem Osten kommen muss. Verbitterte EX-DDRler die nichts rafften"
						"#Augstein ist nur ein dummer, verzogener Junge. @Ralf_Stegner aber ist ein ideologischer Scharfmacher." - "Bei solchen verbalen Entgleisungen dürfen sich Hr. Stegner+SPD nicht wundern, wenn entsprechende Tweets formuliert werden." -
#Pöbelralle dreht völlig ab, er verwandelt sich wahrscheinlich in einen #Augstein.	1-30-16	PEGIDA official	<a href="https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/693525632148463617">https://twitter.com/OFFICIAL_PEGIDA/status/693525632148463617</a>	34	33	"V"

### Appendix D.1 Other Hashtags and Trends

Topic	Text	Date	Account	Link
#Schneegida	"Ich habe nichts gegen Schnee, solange er sich an unser Klima anpasst und Regen ist." #schneegida	12-28-2014	@inscka	<a href="https://www.sueddeutsche.de/pa-norama/twitter-scherze-ueber-pegida-ich-habe-nichts-gegen-schnee-aber-1.2284183">https://www.sueddeutsche.de/pa-norama/twitter-scherze-ueber-pegida-ich-habe-nichts-gegen-schnee-aber-1.2284183</a>
	Die ersten Mitbürger wurden bereits von Schneebällen getroffen. Wehret den Anfängen! #schneegida	12-28-2014	@derVossi_	
	Lese gerade bei der @dpa: "Schnee bleibt bis Neujahr" -- traut nicht dem, was die Lügenpresse so verbreitet. #schneegida		@fiene	
	"Wer betrügt, der fliegt!" Recht hat er, der Schneehofer. #Schneegida		@Scheinvater	
	Ich bin gegen die Eislamisierung unserer Städte! #schneegida		@philippsteuer	
	Dafür bin ich 89 nicht Schlitten gefahren! #schneegida		@marcbiskup	
	Am Anfang sind's nur ein paar Flocken. Das geht ja noch. Aber irgendwann erkennst du dein eigenes Land nicht mehr wieder! #schneegida		@prokrastinix	
	Einige meiner besten Freunde fahren in den Skiurlaub. Aber da gehört der Schnee eben auch hin, nicht vor meine Haustür. #schneegida		@TorstenBeeck	
	Nur faul rumliegen und nichts Produktives tun. Total asozial!#schneegida		@Apfelkernchen	
	Der Schnee ist nicht bereit sich zu integrieren! Solange er den Sommer weiterhin ablehnt, hat er hier nichts zu suchen! #schneegida	12-1-15		<a href="https://twitter.com/str_teddy/status/671677983204200448">https://twitter.com/str_teddy/status/671677983204200448</a>
	WIR SIND DAS FLOCK! #schneegida	12-30-14		<a href="https://twitter.com/TommyKrappweis/status/549869904825159680">https://twitter.com/TommyKrappweis/status/549869904825159680</a>
	In einer Stunde schon 12 neue Schneemänner vor der Türe. Sofort abschmelzen das Pack. #schneegida	12-30-14		<a href="https://twitter.com/JayBadran/status/549921516725731328">https://twitter.com/JayBadran/status/549921516725731328</a>
	Einige dieser Schneeflocken sind gute Freunde von mir, aber es hat einfach zu viele davon! #schneegida	12-30-14		<a href="https://twitter.com/luethin/status/549875353616130048">https://twitter.com/luethin/status/549875353616130048</a>
	Den Vorwurf der Schneefeindlichkeit weise ich zurück! Dass aber viele Schneeflocken in den Untergrund gehen, muss gesagt werden! #schneegida	12-30-14		<a href="https://twitter.com/BlumeEvolution/status/549865203748589569">https://twitter.com/BlumeEvolution/status/549865203748589569</a>
	Ich habe ja nichts gegen Schneeflocken, aber wenn sie so auf Plätzen und Straßen rumlungern, sind sie eine Gefahr für uns alle. #schneegida	12-29-14		<a href="https://twitter.com/marcusratner/status/549534996407808000">https://twitter.com/marcusratner/status/549534996407808000</a>

	Wir haben davor gewarnt, aber inzwischen ist ja das ganze Abendland eislandisiert. #Schneegida	12-29-14		<a href="https://twitter.com/ErikMarquardt/status/549533979372974080">https://twitter.com/ErikMarquardt/status/549533979372974080</a>
	Ich bin sicher kein Schnazi, aber irgendwann reicht es. Jetzt müssen wir uns schon verhüllen, wenn wir das Haus verlassen! #schneegida	12-29-14		<a href="https://twitter.com/DavidGutensohn/status/549523088631926784">https://twitter.com/DavidGutensohn/status/549523088631926784</a>
Lawine	Wenn #Flüchtlinge nach Europa kommen, dann ist das keine 'Welle', keine 'Flut', keine 'Lawine' und kein 'Tsunami'.			<a href="https://twitter.com/littlewisehen/status/1055497295326863366">https://twitter.com/littlewisehen/status/1055497295326863366</a>
	Das sind Menschen...	10-25-18		<a href="https://twitter.com/Astrid_RB/status/664891970045743104">https://twitter.com/Astrid_RB/status/664891970045743104</a>
	Flüchtlinge sind Menschen und niemals eine Lawine. Sprache ist verräterisch. Es geht auch anders #mitmenschlich	11-12-15		<a href="https://twitter.com/M_Reinsch/status/664788187827564545">https://twitter.com/M_Reinsch/status/664788187827564545</a>
	Lawine = tödliche Naturkatastrophe. Flüchtlinge = Menschen, die vor Krieg fliehen, weil sie sonst getötet werden.	11-12-15		<a href="https://twitter.com/NicoStuhlfaut/status/664760404342624256">https://twitter.com/NicoStuhlfaut/status/664760404342624256</a>
	#Flüchtlinge sind keine Lawine & keine Krise. Die einzige Krise ist die verfehlte Politik, die Millionen Menschen in die Flucht treibt. #CDU	11-12-15		<a href="https://twitter.com/HeikoMaas/status/664754615754358784">https://twitter.com/HeikoMaas/status/664754615754358784</a>
	Menschen in Not sind keine Naturkatastrophe. Wir sollten #Flüchtlingsdebatte besonnen führen und nicht mit Worten Öl ins Feuer gießen. #Lawine	11-12-15	Heiko Maas verified	<a href="https://twitter.com/schmidtwolf/status/664722280887525376">https://twitter.com/schmidtwolf/status/664722280887525376</a>
	Strom, Welle, Lawine - der Sound der 90er ist zurück. Menschen sind keine Naturkatastrophe. #Flüchtlinge	11-12-15		<a href="https://twitter.com/verdachtsmoment/status/664708987267506176">https://twitter.com/verdachtsmoment/status/664708987267506176</a>
	Schäuble vergleicht Flüchtlingsbewegung mit einer Lawine. Ein für alle Mal: Menschen sind keine Naturkatastrophe. Flucht ist ursächlich.	11-12-15		<a href="https://twitter.com/DE_Zi_Brb/status/66469075651211520">https://twitter.com/DE_Zi_Brb/status/66469075651211520</a>
	Sprache beeinflusst Denken, Sprache beeinflusst politischen Diskurs und Sprache beeinflusst Stimmungen ... und #Schäuble spricht von Lawine	11-12-15	verified account	<a href="https://twitter.com/christiansoeder/status/664718495616208896">https://twitter.com/christiansoeder/status/664718495616208896</a>
	Menschen sind keine Lawine. Schäuble benutzt die Sprache der Unmenschen.	11-12-15		<a href="https://twitter.com/flueke/status/664710589231558656">https://twitter.com/flueke/status/664710589231558656</a>
	Menschen sind kein Schnee und kein Geröll. Sie können also auch keine Lawine sein, solange man sie als Menschen anerkennt. #Schäuble	11-12-15		<a href="https://twitter.com/HAHNmeint/status/664845901391863809">https://twitter.com/HAHNmeint/status/664845901391863809</a>
	Etwas Nachhilfe für manchen Politiker schadet nicht!	11-12-15	Graphic: Welle, Flut, Lawine, Menschen	<a href="https://twitter.com/hanvoi/status/664717337858334720">https://twitter.com/hanvoi/status/664717337858334720</a>
	Die Katastrophen-Metaphern für die Flüchtlinge werden immer irrer: Nach "Flut", "Strom" und "Welle" spricht Schäuble jetzt von "Lawine".	11-12-15	verified account	<a href="https://twitter.com/ndaktuell/status/664762570012782592">https://twitter.com/ndaktuell/status/664762570012782592</a>
	Scharfe Kritik an Schäubles Katastrophen-Metaphorik: Regierung richtet Chaos an, nicht Flüchtlinge #Lawine <a href="http://dasND.de/990980">http://dasND.de/990980</a>	11-12-15		<a href="https://twitter.com/fairint/status/664735201243869184">https://twitter.com/fairint/status/664735201243869184</a>
	Geflüchteten mit einer Lawine der Herzlichkeit zu begegnen ist oberstes Gebot einer ernst gemeinten Willkommenskultur. #Flüchtlinge #Lawine	11-12-15		<a href="https://twitter.com/mistermacheath/status/664722418683002880">https://twitter.com/mistermacheath/status/664722418683002880</a>
	Wenn Schäuble Flüchtlinge mit einer Lawine vergleicht, darf man dann Schäuble mit einer Mülltonne vergleichen?	1--12-15		